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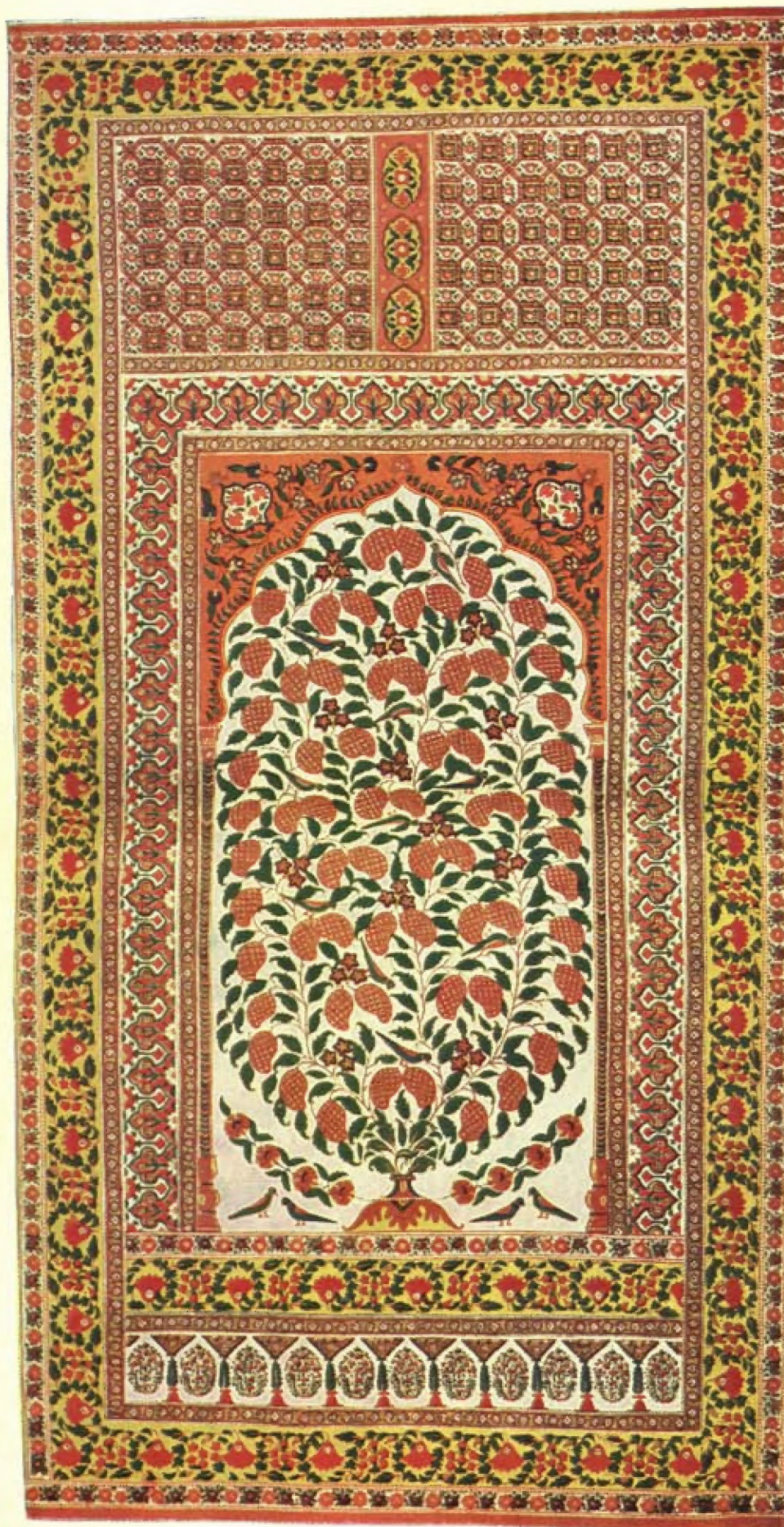
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COTTON PRINT FROM THE PUNJAB

The fine illustration depicts a *devalgir* or *purdah*—a dado and portiere—by the Alla Yars of Kotkamalia. The texture of the web of coarse and serviceable country cloth is very suitable to the large somewhat architectural device in which Alla Yar delighted. The *purdah* generally stretches behind a diwan or cushioned sitting place and is called wall-veil or *devalgir* and shows an arcade with panels of various coloured foliage.

(From *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Vol. I)



THE (COSTUMES AND TEXTILES OF INDIA)

By
JAMILA BRIJ BHUSHAN

Author of
Indian Jewellery, Ornaments and Decorative Designs

WITH 1079 ILLUSTRATIONS
(17 Coloured, 360 Half-tone and 702 Line Drawings)

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PREFACE

If humanity is to progress and be happy, the historian must change his role. Instead of recording the explosions of A. and H. bombs, it must record the beautiful in life. So far he has sung sagas of mad politicians' bleatings and ignored the efforts of millions and millions of poor men who with their simple tools and inspired hearts have made the world beautiful and worth living and given it its art and crafts. The historian should ignore the politician and the wicked in him would die a natural death. I ventured to write a short book on Indian jewellery and decorative designs, published in 1954. My publishers indulgently made it into a grand project and thanks to my readers, it was very well received. This has encouraged me to write this companion volume to it on the Costumes and Textiles of the People of India. I am no historiographer, no philosopher and no politician, but I would say that I wish to yield to no one in my love of the arts and crafts of India and their maker—the common man. No claims are made that this book is complete. If it stimulates the interest of the reader and makes him proud of the achievement of his common countryman, it will have amply served its purpose. History is a record of the past, thus no originality is claimed. I have borrowed from many; it lends perfection to this work. The imperfections are my own—they are a human failing. My special thanks are to my publishers who take infinite pains to give the best to the reader in their own way.

New Delhi 1958

JAMILA BRIJ BHUSHAN

PUBLISHERS' NOTE

The Publishers gratefully record their appreciation and thanks to all those who have helped in the preparation and publication of this work. Their thanks are especially due to Mr. D. N. Marshall and Mr. B. Anderson, the Librarian and Assistant Librarian respectively of the University of Bombay, for their guidance and loan of books; to Dr. Moti Chandra, Director of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, for his constant advice and help regarding the archaeological, artistic, and historical illustrative material; to the artist, Mr. Ram Subedar for making line sketches from ancient and mediaeval sculptures and miniature paintings; to Mr. Syed Mohamed of the Express Block & Engraving Studios Ltd. for his personal interest and supervision in the making of the colour, half-tone and line blocks for the book; to Messrs. G. P. & J. Baker Ltd., London, for readily granting us permission to reproduce certain illustrations from their very valuable work "Calico Painting and Printing in the East Indies" by G. P. Baker; to Miss Shona Ray, Miss Gira Sarabhai, and the many Museums and Institutions for supplying suitable photographs of Indian costumes and textiles.

The Publishers also wish to record their thanks to Khatau Makanji Spg. Wvg. Co. Ltd. and to their advertising consultants, Sista's Private Ltd., for permission to adapt the advertisement of Khatau Voiles for use on the jacket of this book.

The Publishers will be glad to receive suitable illustrations and photographs which could be included in future editions of this book.

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Man's own beginnings and the origins of his institutions have always exercised his mind, and his speculations on the subject have given rise to various theories related to his varied activities, modes and manners of his living. The conditions of primitive man, which must have closely resembled those of the aboriginal tribes inhabiting many parts of the world even today, have been a subject of much speculation and research. Even the question as to when and why did man give up his natural state of nakedness and take to wearing clothes is a question that has found many differing answers and explanations.

One hypothesis put forward is that clothing originated in the decorative impulse. This provides a cause which operates through unconscious intelligence and automatic feeling. The analogy between a child and primitive man cannot be pressed very far but it is true that both are very fond of finery. "The natural man," says Ratzel, "will undergo any trouble, any discomfort, in order to beautify himself to the best of his power." Dandies are as frequent among the primitives as among civilised people. At Port Moresby in New Guinea young men actually practise tight lacing to be smart and fashionable. In these spheres it is the young, if not mere children, who express the impulse to decoration. Among the Dyaks of Borneo, "love of finery is inherent in the young of both sexes; the elderly are less fond of it and often dress very shabbily and save up their good clothes for their off-spring." It is in accordance with the rule among animals that among primitive people, the male chiefly assumes decoration, the stock ornamentation being paint. For the last 500 years of European Civilisation decorative dress has become more and more confined to women. In India, for as long as we can go back, both men and women have decorated their bodies in almost equal measure. The chief feature of Islam was the principle that female dress should not be ornamental but protective of the rights of the husband. Thus we may infer that even in the land of the origin of Islam woman as a sex had not only gained freedom and the right to fascinate, at one time possessed by the courtesan alone, but had also shifted the equilibrium of sex to a more permanent and efficient position. The story of woman's unconscious struggle for a monopoly of beauty in dress illustrates an important social movement. In practical investigation it is difficult to say where clothing ends and ornament begins or where clothing springs out of ornament.

The next hypothesis is that male jealousy instituted clothing for the married woman. Ratzel observes that if clothing was originally instituted with the idea of bodily protection only, the feet would have been protected first. Clothing, he holds, stands in unmistakable relation to the sexual life. "The first to wear clothes is not the man, who has to dash through the forest but the married woman." The primary function of her dress is to render her unattractive to others, to conceal her body from other men's eyes. In the lower strata of human evolution he considers that dress as a protection from rain and cold is far less common.

If we argue from the practice of existing savages, however, this hypothesis cannot hold even for the origin of female clothing. It is a *vera causa* at a certain stage in barbarism (the stage where wives become property) of the custom of shrouding and veiling women and confiscating all a maiden's ornaments and finery when she becomes a wife. But it does not explain the origin of the very small apron worn in the very early stages or of the mere thread in the earliest stages and we cannot deny these articles a place in the category of

dress. A frequent corollary of such views is that modesty is a result, not a cause of clothing. But as Havelock Ellis remarks, "Many races which go absolutely naked possess a highly developed sense of modesty . . . modesty is in its origins independent of clothing . . . physiological modesty takes precedence of anatomical modesty; and the primary factors of modesty were probably developed long before the discovery of either ornaments or garments."

Waitz and Diderot have held the view that male jealousy is the primary cause of clothing and, therefore, of modesty. Often married women only are clothed; as if before marriage a woman is free, after marriage clothed and a slave. But the fact of dress serving as concealment involves the possibility of attraction by mystery. "The social fear of arousing disgust combines easily and perfectly with any new development in the invention of ornament or clothing as sexual lures. Even among the most civilised races it has often been noted that the fashion of feminine garments (as also sometimes the use of scents) has the double object of concealing and attracting. It is so with the little apron of the young savage belle. The heightening of the attraction is, indeed, a logical outcome of the fear of evoking disgust," says Havelock Ellis in *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*.

Thus, in primitive clothing is found a curious interchange of concealment, protection, decoration and advertisement. When an appurtenance has come to be attached to the sexual area the resulting psychical reactions are significant. In the previous natural stage there is no artificial stimulus; now there is an addition to the natural stimulus, first by mere attraction or signification and later by decoration or veiling. The subject's material personality is increased by clothing, and his physical reaction is proportional to this. The result is a rich complex of self-consciousness, modesty and self-feeling, the balance between them varying according to circumstances. It is highly improbable, however, that such impulses could have led to the invention of dress, much less of mere attachments and appurtenances. Their only means of expression would have been ornament.

All primitive peoples, even those who wear no clothing, wear a girdle. To find the origin of dress, therefore, we must discover the origin of the girdle. The modern version of the girdle is the belt used to keep the skirt or trouser up or the string to hold up the pyjamas. In the early stages, however, there was nothing to hold up and the girdle was used for its own sake. Its first form came from nature — the pliant bough or stem. It was chiefly a male appendage, neither very tight nor very loose and it was not a suspender but a pocket. The savage finds it invaluable for carrying things which would, otherwise, engage his hands and hamper his movement. Once fitted with the waist string, the body, as a machine, is greatly improved, being able to carry artificial aids to manual operations, ready for use as occasion requires without hampering the hands. This may have led to the idea of a suspender and may have been the beginning of its later use as such. If, for occasional purposes, a decoration or covering was required the string was ready for use. Central as it was, the decoration or covering would fall below it and be thus applied automatically to the perineal region. Similarly, the hair of the head is a natural holder and is used to support leaf and flower decorations.

By unconscious selection the evolution of dress probably followed a course based on hygienic needs. Only the very simplest principles of hygiene could have occurred to the primitive man, one of the simplest for tropical regions being the use of some form of protection against insects. These primarily attacked the perineal region because of the sebaceous secretion of the surface and its relatively high temperature. The use of bundles of leaves and grass became natural and inevitable as soon as the girdle was there to hold them. A parallel method is the use of a second string behind and passing between the legs. When cloth was invented the first form of the loin cloth must have been an extension of the inter-crural thread. As various methods of tying and draping developed with man's familiarity with sheet dress the later form of loin cloth naturally superseded the earlier. A length of

cloth passed round the waist and between the legs, the ends depending, was both convenient and comfortable. It may be surmised that the use of a perineal cloth for men and of the skirt for women are of early date and generally maintained.

When once instituted as a custom, the wearing of leaves or bark cloth upon the abdominal region served to focus various psychical reactions. One of the earliest of these was the impulse to emphasise the primary sexual characters. It is an impulse manifested among the great majority of the early races in their observances at the time of puberty and it is, as a rule, at that period that sexual dress or ornament is assumed. A less direct but more constant instance of the same recognition is the assigning of the skirt to the woman as the more sedentary and of the trouser to the man as the more active sex. The Central Australian pubic tassel and similar appendages will here find significance, but it is doubtful whether such accentuation was then the original purpose. Once instituted for protection, the other ideas followed and the idea of modesty received a false focus. As the female animal by various postures guards itself against the attentions of the undesirable male, so the skirt constituted a permanent psychical suggestion of inviolability. The use of appendage or covering involves the possibility of attraction, either by mere notification, by the addition of decoration or, later, by the suggestion of mystery.

If dress be taken to include everything worn on the person other than offensive and defensive armour there is hardly a single known substance from iron to air which has not, for one reason or another, been employed ; while for purposes of decoration or protection against the elements the utmost use has been made of hair dress, skin-painting, tattooing and the wearing of ornaments and amulets for protection of parts of the body. The savage regards everything he wears as an ornament though it may, actually, be a protection and the less the body covering there is the greater the tendency to painting, scarification and tattooing. "Having," as Gautier says, "no clothes to embroider, they embroider themselves."

In tropical countries the use of leaves as permanent or occasional garments is common. Gond women wear bunches of twigs round the waist, while the Juangs of Chhota Nagpur are noted for their leaf-dresses which when dry and crackly are changed for fresh ones. The Samoans wear girdles of ti-leaves (*Cordyline terminalis*) gathered when turning yellow. Adorned with flowers their figures are a notable example of adaptation to island scenery.

Another natural covering is tree bark. In tropical countries, where scanty clothing is needed, certain trees have an inner bark which weaves into excellent cloth, the best example being the celebrated Tapa of Polynesia. In Africa the bark is made into kilts, cloths, canoes, roofing and various articles. Bark was once used extensively in India for making clothes for Sanyasis and mendicants.

Circumstances make certain people adopt leather or fur garments. The only garment of a Chaco Indian is a skin petticoat, but in cold weather a mantle of skins is worn. Eskimos have made a perfect fabric from fur. In India, Sanyasis living in the Himalayas wore leopard skins and skins were also used as a floor-covering. Modern people wear leather shoes, leather jackets and fur coats.

Clothing was the next art, after agriculture and building, to acquire economic importance. The hair of domesticated animals superseded skins, cotton and linen superseded leaves, grass-matting and the rougher vegetable fibres, palm, aloe, hemp, etc. With the introduction of an artificial dress-material the savage stage of evolution came to an end.

With improvement in the quality of cloth and consequent increase in lightness and folding capacity, a modification was made by many people in the omission of the intercrural method. From the loin cloth proper were developed drawers and trousers. In all these later extensions of the idea of a loose and modifiable artificial skin, the primitive

waist dress is still visible. As a girdle and belt it supports various garments, by creating folds it supplies its original purpose of a pocket. Mantles, cloaks and caps in the barbarian stage were confined to their particular purpose—protection against rain, wind and sun. In later stages their use became a regular feature of outdoor life. In India the amount of clothing varies from nothing to formal European garments. Indian garments serve to combine in one short view some of the contrasts of various stages of civilisation and some of the principles of the evolution of dress.

In spite of the underlying similarity of principle universally found, dress more than any other external feature distinguishes race from race and tribe from tribe. While distinguishing a social unit it also emphasises its internal solidarity.

Pollux gives a classic account of ancient Greek and Varro of ancient Italian dress. It is significant sociologically that the classic type characterised by the loose tunic and toga which, with some differences, was that chiefly affected by great Oriental races, and was adapted both to the Oriental idea of repose and to the classic ideal of aristocratic contemplation, was discarded as the empire developed into the states of Europe, in favour of what the Greeks styled barbarian dress, chiefly characterised by trousers, a dress better adapted to active pursuits. Trousers, the Sanskrit *chalana*, have been associated in India as in the East Indian Archipelago, with the dress of warriors and chiefs. However, among the early Hebrews, drawers were first used as a priestly dress.

Early Christians wore the ordinary dress of the country to which they belonged. They shunned all luxury in dress and were, sometimes, even executed for this. This may be attributed to their class consciousness and class prejudice and may be paralleled in modern labour and socialist psychology where the workman's garb becomes a fetish of caste.

Colour in dress involves many problems of aesthetic, psychological and biological importance. Behind fashion in colour there seems to be a principle of unconscious adaptation to environment. The varied symbolism of colour in dress has a psychological foundation. Towards the tropics the tendency to gaudiness becomes marked, while more subdued tones are favoured by inhabitants of the temperate zone.

The Yazidis hate blue. Their strongest curse is, "May you die in blue." According to the Atharvaveda a combination of blue and red savours of witchcraft. Blue and red were, however, worn by Hebrew high priests and were employed for the purposes of divination. The Euahlayi Australian believes red to be the devil's colour. Such cases show an unconscious appreciation of the powerful stimulus of red. Its erotic connection, no doubt, explains its frequent use in marriage ceremonies. A natural association of ideas connects white with the purity of virgins and priests.

The Persians never mixed black with their colours because it signified nothingness and death. They combined their blues with browns. The blue of Egypt was made of minerals while that with which the early Britons dyed their bodies came from Woad, a roadside herb. The Hindus used vegetable dyes. Henna came from Persia, India and Africa. It was used for staining hands, feet, horses and mules. "From the Ganges to the Mediterranean it went into the dye pots."

The Phoenician artificer made dyes and dyeing his concern because of the excellent quality of shell-fish which abounded on his shore. They used a small snail-like mollusc which appeared out of the water, left behind by the recession of the tide. The skill with which Tyre and Sidon crushed them and then extended the range and progression of the colour they contrived to get, made their dyes supreme. They had a world monopoly and sent beautiful coloured garments to all countries. The colour came from a little sac or bag on the back of the shell-fish. The blue-violet dye of the purple, gold-edged robe of the Roman praetor came from the body of any fish, but the deep red-violet used solely

for royal garments and carpets was considered a hundred times more valuable. It was extracted from the virgin fish. In the spring, fishers went further and further up into the northern waters where the school of this fish went to mate, following the virgin fish in order to catch it when the colour was at its finest before it turned blue. In the purple range "the virgin was sovereign." Slowly the dyer diversified and brought to perfection a full scale of purples, even to black and scarlet which seemed to have been crushed from strawberries, a red-violet from which a man could scarcely take away his eyes. They long made the most celebrated colours and dyestuffs with a lustre found nowhere else in the world. In the reign of Augustus one pound of wool dyed with Tyrian purple often cost its weight in gold. Clinging to a silver vase in Mohenjo-daro was a scrap of woven cotton dyed purple. China had no purple until the West sent it to her.

An absence of colour or the 'natural' colour of a fabric implies negation or contraction of personality while splendour, as in various shades of crimson used by the ancient world under the term 'purple', implies expansion of personality and is suited to festive occasions both sacred and profane. The negation of splendour is often expressed by black and blue. Superstition when using these relies on their minimum attraction rather than upon any optical adaptation. According to the *Ra's Ma'la*, dark clothes are a protection against the evil eye. In Roman Catholicism, as elsewhere, blue and violet are colours symbolic of death. Blue is also connected with the external attributes of the Virgin Mary mourning her dead son. In social life colour, no less than dress or uniform, becomes a distinguishing mark, either by accident or design. The guild, the club, the social state are represented by different colours.

Dress has had also a symbolical significance since times immemorial. It acquires ideal valuations from its various uses, materials and associations. All languages are full of metaphors regarding such ideas. According to the *Salapatha Brahmana*, the "priests' fee consists of 100 garments for that (i.e., the garments) is man's outward appearance, whence the people (on seeing) any well-clad man ask, 'who can this be?'; for he is perfect in his outward appearance; with outward appearance he thus endows him." The metaphorical wealth of India suggests a few points. In the first place dress is more than covering; it imparts an anthropomorphic value to the object. According to the Vedic texts on 'Soma', the mixture of soma with milk, sour milk and barley is a garment. "Water," say the Upanishads, "is the dress of breath." The Bible is full of metaphors of dress, "clothed with cursing," "with vengeance," "with drowsiness," with "strength and honour". In Zoroastrian texts it is said that the garments of the soul in the life to come are made from acts of alms giving.

The relation between body and soul is often expressed in terms of dress. The body, according to Malaysians, is the sarong of the soul. The Dene Indian when sick regains his health by stuffing his mocassins with down and hanging them up. If the down is warm the next morning the soul has entered the shoes and may be reunited with the body when he puts them on. Here the presence of personal warmth, associated with actual wearing, represents the presence of the soul in the dress.

Early man probably regarded weaving as a mystic art. References to dress are numerous in folk lore. Stories of magical dresses abound. There is, for instance, the shirt of magical whiteness which turns black when the owner dies. A Javanese magician transforms himself into a tiger by means of a magical sarong, and a cloak is worn to make a man invisible.

One of the simplest cases of association is the idea that a man may be represented by his dress. Bathing with clothes on is a form of ceremonial purification which shows connection of person and dress. The anointing of garments is a practice found in fashion, ritual and ordinary life. The wedding garments of the Massai bride are anointed with oil before being donned. The robes of the Hebrew high priest, no less than his head and person; were anointed with sacred oil.

The principle of impersonation is easily applied to dress. The natives of the Upper Congo blacken their faces with oil and charcoal in resemblance of a species of monkey, since by so doing they think they get "monkey cunning". Some tribes, concluding that a barren tree is male, turn it into a female by placing a woman's petticoat upon it.

Assimilation of dress to person shows innumerable gradations, passing ultimately into identity or duplication. The Hindus hold that the dress and ornaments of gods and deified mortals do not decay. Garments, like other inanimate objects have souls in Fijian and Tongan beliefs. All ideas and practices of sympathetic magic are abundantly illustrated by dress. Among the Toradjas of the Celebes, when the men are on a campaign those remaining behind may not remove their garments or head-dress lest the warriors' armour may fall off too. During the festival of the Mexican 'long haired mother,' the maize goddess, women dance with unbound hair so that the tassels of maize may grow in equal profusion. In ancient India the rain-maker wore black garments and ate black food. He had to touch water thrice a day. To make rain he must, himself, be wet. "Who drives fat oxen should himself be fat."

There are numerous cases of belief in the transmission of properties by means of dress. Early thought inferred that a man's nature "inheres not only in all parts of his body but in his dress....." For the psychology of dress a class of facts relating to murderers and menstruating women have an important significance. The Omaha murderer was not allowed to let his robe fly open; it was to be pulled close to his body and kept closed to the neck even in hot weather.

The garment of a particular stage must be discarded when that stage is past. By this means and by bodily cleansing, transition to the normal stage is affected. The Hebrew high priest after making the sin-offering had to wash himself and remove the garments he had worn. The Hindus, after taking away the dead from the house and after the cremation ceremony, wash themselves and change their garments at the cremation ground before returning home. The women bathe in the house. New clothes express a new state or condition. The contrast between the old and the new produces a belief in change and betterment of fortune.

Customs which prescribe the wearing of best clothes or of rags illustrate the most important psychological result of the invention of clothes. The mere presence or possession of articles of clothing gives the required sense of self-respect, of human dignity and sexual desirability. To unclothe a person or to soil his clothes is to degrade and humiliate him and is considered an insult. Emphasis of the personality or its diminution is expressed by careful dressing in bright colours or by wearing of rags, sack cloth, or torn and dirty clothes. On these foundations have been erected a mass of superstitions. Great personages in Siam used to wear clothes of a different colour on each day of the week—white on Sunday, yellow on Monday, green on Tuesday, etc. Among the Chinese Siui, "the garment for a long life" is a long garment of valuable silk, blue or red brown, with a lining of bright blue. It is embroidered all over with characters in gold thread representing the word longevity and is frequently worn to prolong life.

In all periods social meetings have been the occasions for the wearing of the best clothes. This indicates the social significance of dress. Meetings of society in its magical or spiritual character are no less marked by fine clothes and people wear their best clothes to church, mosque or temple. Just as all sacrifices should be precious so should a dress-wearing victim be well-dressed. The human victim sacrifice by the Pawnees was dressed in the richest garment.

A few types of festal dress may be cited from a variety which exceeds all other forms of human inventiveness—a fact which illustrates both man's physical pride and his tendency to shift its focus to an artificial and variable substitute. The Manipuri festal head-dress is

remarkable. A white turban is bound tightly round the head and over the top and in front is wound round *shumzil*, a horn-shaped construction of cane bound over with cloth or gold braid and ending above in a loop and below in three flat loops which are concealed under the turban. The *shumzil* is over a foot high and curves slightly backwards; from the loop at its end hangs an embroidered streamer. On each side of the head, a plume made of peacocks' feathers and the tail feathers of the hornbill is inserted in the turban. The whole structure is bound together by a narrow band of red and white embroidery, wound round and round and tied under the chin with the ends hanging down nearly to the waist. The connection of fine dress with well-being and the estimate of clothing as a necessity of existence are combined in the Hebrew belief that Jehovah was the ultimate donor of food and raiment. The teaching of Christ against 'taking thought' of raiment as illustrated by the natural dress of the lilies of the field that "toil not, neither do they spin" was a wise protest against extravagance in the cult of this secondary body and was a timely rehabilitation of the body itself, no less than of the higher claims of personality.

An artificial assumption of humility may be employed to emphasise the succeeding magnificence or to deprecate the ill-luck which may follow pride, e.g., in Egypt the best-loved children are the worst dressed. Peasants in many countries dress a child merely to protect it against the evil eye. Penance and asceticism often coincide in method. For penance Manu prescribes clothes of cow-hair with the wearer's own hair in braids. Among the rules of penance in medieval Christianity was the wearing of dirty clothes. An ancient rule for Buddhist monks was that their dress should be made of rags taken from a dust-heap.

Physical cleanliness is a habit which has undergone evolution. The ancient Huns and Mongols avoided the washing of clothes. Genghis Khan ordered the wearing of clothes until they dropped off in tatters. Cleanliness is, again, frequently, a class distinction. Among the Point Barrow Eskimos, as among many modern European nations, the poorer people are often careless about their clothes and appearance while wealthy people take pride in being neatly clad. Daily bathing depends on climatic conditions but it does not necessarily imply clean habits of toilet and dress. Ideas of ceremonial cleanliness have probably had an important collateral influence upon the evolution of habits of cleanliness. Ceremonial bathing and purification of body and clothes is enjoined on the priestly class in almost all parts of the world.

The ritual and emotional tearing or removal of clothes is apparently derived from several motives. The Hebrew widow takes off her sandals and spits on the ground. Among the ancient Arabs, women when mourning, not only uncovered the head and bosom but also tore off all their garments. The British Columbian expresses indignation against a wrong by destroying a number of blankets, the native currency. His adversary is expected to tear an equal number to satisfy honour and heal the quarrel. The rending of garments is, perhaps, a development of the reflex impulse to destruction generated by anger, indignation or despair. Stripping, as an indignity or penance, is applied to any person. Thus when his guardian spirit fails to protect him the Eskimo will strip it of its garments.

When clothing is firmly established as a permanent social habit, temporary nudity is the most violent negation possible of the clothed state. In times of draught, Transylvanian girls strip naked when performing the ritual for rain. The principle seems to be that a violent change in the course of nature may be assisted by violent change of habit on the part of those concerned. The leaf girdles used by some people is merely a toning down of violence of the extraordinary state.

The sexual instincts of modesty and attraction give life to the idea of dress. In modern times the missionary movement has imposed on many wild races a regard for clothing developed in cold climates. In European countries, 'exposure of person' is a legal offence. The Roman Catholic Church teaches that it is wrong to expose one's person even to one's own eyes. Muslim modesty was carried to equally great lengths. Such extension

of the idea of decency renders still more forcible both the magical and superstitious use of nudity and also its sexual appeal.

The man must be strong, energetic, vigorous, hairy, even rough; the woman must be smooth, rounded and gentle. These characteristics are echoed in the relative coarseness and strength of the fabric of masculine dress and the softness and flimsiness of feminine attire. A somewhat greater darkness of women is a secondary characteristic and, in this connection, a harmony is unconsciously aimed at. The tendency is for men to wear darker and women lighter clothes. It has constantly happened that men have even called in the aid of religion to emphasise a distinction which seemed to them so urgent. One of the greatest sex allurements and the extreme importance of clothes would disappear if the two sexes were to dress alike.

A special and distinctive dress for the bride is a wide-spread fashion. In North India the bride's dress is red or yellow, colours which repel demons. Old English custom directs that a bride must wear, "Something old and something new; something borrowed and something blue." Magnificence, generally, is the characteristic of wedding garments throughout the world; white is frequently an expression of virginity. The bridal veil, generally concealing the face occurs in India, China, Korea, Manchuria, Burma, Persia, Russia and in various modified forms, throughout Europe.

The dress of the sacred world tends to be the reversal of the profane. Even people of temporary sacredness like pilgrims, worshippers, etc., wear sacred garments. The most important item in the costume of Japanese pilgrims is the *Oizuru*, a jacket which is stamped with the seal of each shrine visited. The three breadths of material used in the sewing of this garment typify the great Buddhist deities—Amida, Kwannon and Seishi. The garment is carefully preserved and when the owner dies he is clad in it for burial. Up to the fifth century, Christian priests wore ordinary dress—the change came only after that time. The dress is a material link between the person and the supernatural; it absorbs, as it were, the rays of the Deity and inspires the human wearer, and with the vestments the priest seems to put on the character of divinity. The dress is regarded not as an expression of the personality of the wearer but as imposing on him a super-personality. Ideas of purity attach themselves to priestly and royal garments—Gods were, and still are, adorned with even costlier clothes than human beings. The image of Apollo of Amyclae had a new coat woven for it every year by women confined for the work in a secluded chamber. Dress, by personalising a victim, provided a convenient method of substitution. When the oracle ordered the sacrifice of a maiden a goat was dressed as a girl and slain instead.

A holiday being a suspension of normal life tends to be accompanied by every kind of reversal of the usual order. Commonly all laws and customs are broken and an obvious mode of reversal is the adoption of the dress of the other sex. In the medieval Feast of Fools, priests dressed as clowns or women.

The social significance of dress is well brought out in mourning customs. In China the relations of the deceased wear mourning dress of coarse, brown sackcloth. White is the other colour of mourning. Among the Reros, a tribe of New Guinea, bones of the dead are worn by the mourners. A dead man's jaw is often worn as a bracelet. The most frequently used colours of mourning are black, white, dark blue and the natural colours, as a rule, of coarse and cheap fabrics. The mourning colour in Korea is that of raw hemp or string. For a year the mourner wears a hat shaped like an enormous toadstool completely hiding the face. Black clothes are generally the fashion in the modern West. Simultaneously with change of dress are produced changes of bodily appearance, especially coiffure. The practice of cutting the hair extremely short is very common in some countries, while in India the hair, moustaches and eyebrows are all shaved off. Ancient Egyptians, Chinese and Jews, on the other hand, allowed the hair to grow very long as a sign of mourning.

In modern times the corpse, whether embalmed or not, is loosely wrapped in cotton or linen clothes. In particular cases, customs like that of placing the busby on the coffin involve the idea that official dress is more than individual personality, a special covering representing specialised social functions, whereas, lay garments represent generalised functions. Among the earlier people it was the custom to dress the corpse in its best clothes. Careful washing and careful toilet are no less significant and are important parts of the more or less ceremonial investiture of the dead. The Avestan horror of death is illustrated by their custom. Zoroastrian law ordained: "clothing which is useless; this is that in which they should carry a corpse." In the case of still useful clothing which had been touched by a corpse a very thorough and minute process of cleaning is to be applied. When preservatives are not applied to the grave clothes some people periodically renew them. A simpler method used is to place changes of raiment in the grave.

Various emotions might be said to be in competition as soon as attention was directed to the dress of a man just dead. Sorrow and affection would make the stripping of a corpse an act impossible for friends and relatives. As various ideas relating to the state of the dead became clear, regard would be had for the comfort of the dead. No less than the living must they have the two great necessities, food and clothing, and so they were buried sometimes even with rugs to keep them warm. What are significantly expressed as 'last offices' express the feelings of sorrow and affection and the desire to do honour to the dead for the last time. In such conditions it is inevitable that the best of everything should be provided for the dead. The economic factor also comes in. Clothes are property and the dead man is still a member of society, and the most personal and distinctive of his property, his personal attire, remains with him. He is dressed in his best as if to assert his personality and to express it in its highest terms for the last time though, actually, that personality is no more.

In India the corpse is wrapped in a plain white shroud except in the case of a married woman whose husband is still alive. She is dressed in bridal clothes to proclaim the attainment of that state of bliss to which all Indian women aspire — the avoidance of widowhood.

Mourning as a social state is pre-eminently a suspension of social life, society is avoided, work is discontinued and the mourner is generally under a ban. The period of mourning depends on the time taken for the thorough decomposition of the corpse. Throughout early thought runs the idea that a person is not absolutely dead until every fragment of the viscera has disappeared. At the end of this time the state of ordinary life is re-entered.

The prevalent explanation of mourning dress is based on the fear of ghosts and the contagion of death. In some Central Australian tribes it is said that the object of painting the body of the mourner is to render him or her more conspicuous and to allow the spirit to see that it is being properly mourned for.

Footgear and head-dress show an evolution as varied as dress in general. The basic ideas of dress including those of decency are also seen here. Thus, where special attention is paid to clothing the foot, as among Chinese women, or the face as among the Muslims, the resulting modesty is real though not primary. Decency is a secondary and artificial idea and there is no biological or psychological difference between its application to the foot or face and its application to the sexual characters. But in the former there is not while in the latter there is, a primary impulse to modesty, the instinct to protect, though not necessarily to conceal the sexual centres. Most people in India never wear shoes, and even the rich dispense with stockings. Leather is avoided for reasons of ceremonial purity. The religious rule of removing shoes before entering a sacred place has its origin in the motive of avoidance of carrying dirt into the house be it that of God or man.

Head-dress and coiffure involve ideas of ornament and distinction in a more marked degree than any other form of dress. The Karens wear a head-dress to please the 'Tso',

the soul which resides in the head. A Zambesi rain-maker never cuts his hair for fear the familiar spirits will desert him. Fashions and superstitions are equally innumerable in the matter of coiffure. No part of the external surface of the body has been more variously manipulated than the hair. The coiffure marks difference of race, tribe, clan, sex, age and social status.

In a woman long hair is regarded as beautiful, as her glory. From savagery upto modern times this attribute has been emphasised by addition no less than by decoration. The use of the fillet has two purposes—to confine the hair and to prevent sweat from reaching the eyes. It was used in India from very early times and we find Mohenjo-daro figurines wearing it. The protection of eyes and neck from the deleterious rays of the sun has been understood from very early times and the general tendency is towards ornament in female and protection in male headgear.

The evolution of clothing material includes some abnormalities of special interest. Among the Central Australian human hair is used for various purposes especially for the manufacture of girdles. The giving and receiving of it constitutes an important duty and right. A married man's chief supply comes from his mother-in-law. The medieval use of the hair shirt as a mode of penance depended on the coarseness of the fabric for the mortification of the flesh. Similar is the use of a hempen fabric and sackcloth in mourning. The famous feather fabric of the Nahuas, who lived in a paradise of gorgeously coloured birds, was made by skilled artists. It was used for mantles and dresses worn by nobles and the wealthy as well as for tapestry and similar drapery. The interweaving of precious metals with dress fabric is a luxurious custom, often merging into superstition.

In the absence of coinage, commercial transactions often took and still take the form of mutual gifts, especially in the case of transactions which are more or less purely financial. At such stages any article representing work and intrinsic value, such as clothing, is an obvious medium for presentation or exchange. In the East Indian Islands clothes are a frequent offering to the spirit while blankets were a common gift among American Indians. A large portion of the taxes paid by the Nahuas was in the form of clothes and made up garments. Clothes were and still are distributed in India on occasions of great rejoicing and form a mode of charity.

Weaving establishments were found in many of the great cultural centres of Egypt, India, Babylonia and China by the time the caravans were on the roads. Raw wool, cotton and flax were market items. The camel sheds its thick winter coat and bags of camel hair and fleece went into all the weaving cities. The first wool came from the mountains of Kashmir, from Angora and Arabia, and later from Miletus. Flax was cultivated in 4000 or 5000 B.C. in Mesopotamia and Egypt and was extensively used by the Egyptians who produced an embroidery on linen which was the beginning of lace. Kings and queens were buried with yards of it while chariots had canopies of it over them.

Fabrics differed in different countries. Indian women wove delicate and costly shawls from the mountain wool and made carpets, tapestries and cushion covers. The weavers of India also sent out gauzy tissues which clothed rather than covered one, gossamer muslins of extraordinary delicacy and whiteness with names like *Abrawan* (running water), *Shabnam* (evening dew) and woven air. Strabo speaks of dresses worked in gold and adorned with precious stones and of flowered robes made of finest muslin worn by the wealthy classes. In Egypt, factories for weaving were attached to the temples and weavers wove a cotton byssus of 500 warp threads to the inch.

The earliest known Chinese textile is silk. Silk weaving is mentioned about 2600 B.C. and it was being imported into Persia, Afghanistan and the Mediterranean countries long before the dawn of history. It is mentioned in the Vedas. The halls of Babylonia

were hung with it and the Persians and the Greeks struggled for supremacy of the silk trade. The first mention of it in the West is by Aristotle. No one knew where it came from or what it was made of. China guarded its secret jealously until the 5th Century when two priests sent out from the country the living cocoons in hollow bamboos. Since then Europe has always been trying to raise it. As late as the reign of James I, royalty set up its own mulberry garden raising silk worms for making stockings but had no success and the garden became a country seat with a palace called Buckingham Palace. For long the silk trade was the most lucrative in the world.

As silk became known in different parts of the world, it began to be woven in different ways. Each texture reveals a civilisation higher than the other. India has Kinkhab, "a very rich silk interwoven with precious tissues of gold and silver of an almost supernatural magnificence." China was the first to ornament silk with a pattern. It wove *K'sai*, the design formed by pushing back the thread with the finger-nail. Damascus produced a silk woven elaborately in colour with patterns of a raised appearance called Damascene. Baghdad was famous for a richly-watered silk called Tabby. The Romans wove a tissue almost entirely of gold thread.

The word Kumkhwab (Kinkhab) means "little sleep" and may have originated from the fact that the scratching of gold and silver thread against the skin is irritating, preventing sleep or because no owner of such costly fabric could possibly sleep in peace!

Textile fabrics frequently take their name from places where they first acquired excellence and retain them long after the site of manufacture has been transferred elsewhere, e.g., Damask from Damascus, Satin from Zaytoun in China, Calico from Calicut and Muslin from Mosul. "All the cloths of gold and silver that are called mosolins are made in this country; and those great merchants called mosolins who carry for sale such quantities of spicery and pearls and cloths of silk and gold are also from this kingdom." Here muslin has a different connotation from what it has today. It was applied to a strong cotton cloth made at Mosul. Buckram is said to be derived from Bokhara, Fustian from Fostat, one of the medieval cities, and Taffeta and Tabby from a street in Baghdad. Tafta is a fabric made of twisted yarn in both cotton and silk. Tafta in Persian means twisted as bafta means woven. Perhaps the manufacture gave the name to the street. Chintz is derived from Chint or Chete, Hindu words for variegated and spotted, whence Chita. Shawl is the Sanskrit *sala*, a floor or room, because shawls were first used as carpets, hangings and coverlets.

Fine weaving probably passed from India to Assyria and Egypt, through the Phoenicians into South Europe. Gold was interwoven with cotton in India, Egypt, Chaldea, Assyria, Babylonia and Phoenicia from the earliest times, first in flat strips and then in wire or twisted round thread, and the most ancient form of it is still practised all over India. The inspired psalmist, in setting forth the majesty and grace of God, (Old Testament) says: "Upon thy right hand did stand the Queen of Ophir... the King's daughter is all glorious within, her raiment is of wrought gold." Almost at the same time Homer describes the golden net of Hephaestus (Ode VIII, 274).

"Whose texture even the search of gods deceives
Fine as the filmy webs the spider weaves."

"The Saracens, through their wide-spreading conquests and all-devouring cosmopolitan appetite for arts and learning at second hand succeeded in confusing all local styles together so that now it is often difficult to distinguish between European and Eastern influences in the designs of an Indian brocade and yet through every disguise it is not impossible to infer the essential identity of the brocades of modern India with the blue and purple and scarlet worked in gold of ancient Babylon." (Sir George Birdwood, *Industrial Arts of India*.)

Wherever the Muslim influence was carried the decorative symbols of the Aryan race were introduced; but at Masulipatam, Persian designs have been introduced through the Persian trade and, probably, by Persian colonists.

Weaving is, at once, the oldest and most important of the industrial arts of India. The names, chintz, calico, shawl and bandana, have come from India into the English language since the eighteenth century. Old sculptures and paintings show brocaded materials as well as muslins so filmy and transparent that only the lines of borders or folds show that the figures are clothed at all. The robes were usually woven in shapes and sizes required for use and only rarely cut into fitting garments so that tailoring was a comparatively unimportant art.

Ornament on Indian fabrics is always flat and without shading. Natural flowers are rarely used, imitated or treated in perspective but are conventionalised by being displayed flat and in a symmetrical design and all other objects, even animals and birds, when used for ornamentation, are reduced to their simplest flat form. Indian patterns are extremely simple but very effective and full of apparent richness.

The early esteem in which Indian fabrics were held in Europe is evidenced by Oriental names of many Indian goods being applied to European imitations. In the management of colours, the skill with which a number of them are employed and the taste with which they are harmonised, whether in their cottons or their silks or shawls, Europe has nothing to teach and a great deal to learn. The basis of the bright blue and deep red colours of India are known to be indigo and gumlac.

Fine needlework or embroidery seems to have had its origin in ancient Egypt. The Israelites there excelled in the art and practised it before they settled in the land of Canans; the Phoenicians and Greeks derived their knowledge of it from that country. It was practised in Mesopotamia in the 9th Century and may have come to Bengal from there. "From Dacca," says the Abbé de Guyon in 1744, "come the finest and best Indian embroideries in gold, silver or silk and those embroidered neck cloths of fine muslins which are seen in France."

The manufactures of Babylon reached back to immemorial antiquity. The bodies of the Babylonians were covered with fine linen descending to the feet, their mitres or turbans were also of linen plaited with much art; they wore woollen tunics above which a short white cloak repelled the rays of the sun. The looms supplied to all countries the finest veils and hangings and every article of dress or furniture composed of cotton, linen or wool. Arachue, revered by the Greeks and Romans as the place where cotton weaving originated and where it was carried to its highest perfection, is identified with Erech or Baisippa situated on the Euphrates in the territory of Babylon.

Very important for the expansion of Indian culture was the adaptability of the old to altering conditions and new circumstances. This was an ancient, as it was saving, feature of a conservative culture and enabled it to ring in new things without completely ringing out the old. This adaptability has been greatly responsible for the preservation of the basic unity of Indian culture through the ages when so many equally rich cultures perished for lack of resilience and the capacity to bend before new trends instead of completely breaking under them.

The excavations at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro (C. 2,500 to 1,500 B.C.) have revealed relics of the earliest known civilisations of India. A fairly high stage of advancement in the art of living seems to have been reached even at that early period. From the discovery of many spindles and spindle whorls in the houses of the Indus valley it may safely be inferred that spinning of cotton and wool was very common. It was probably a household art practised by both the rich and the poor as is indicated by the whorls being made both of expensive faience and cheap shell and pottery. Unfortunately, no textiles of any description have been preserved owing to the nature of the soil and research has been limited to small pieces of cotton which were found attached to the base of a silver vase. A close and exhaustive examination of this in the Technological Laboratory showed the specimen to be variety of the coarser Indian cotton cultivated in upper India even today, and not of a wild species. Some of the specimens of woven material adhering to various copper objects were found to be mostly cotton but a few of these were made of bast fibres. The existence of flax is nowhere indicated in the ruins although it was known in ancient Egypt and Elam. The purple dye on a piece of cotton was, in all probability, produced from the madder plant and the discovery of dyers' vats on the site indicate that the art of dyeing was also known and practised.

As no actual specimens of garments have been discovered, the indications supplied by figurines and statuary have to be relied on. If the clay figurines of the mother goddess can be taken to indicate the normal attire of the women of Harappa and Mohenjo-daro, then there is little to describe since, with the exception of jewellery, these figures are bare to the waist and shown wearing a very scanty garment terminating at the knee. A similar skirt is worn by female deities figured on the seal-amulets found at these sites though it appears to be shorter in front than at the back. Since there is no reason to believe that the climate of the Indus valley has undergone any great change since those times, this may be taken to have been the usual dress of the people.

The skirt is represented as held by a girdle that seems, in some cases, to be strings of beads and, in others, would appear to be bands of woven material fastened in front by a brooch of some kind. A badly mutilated female figure wears a girdle fastened in front by a very elaborate bow of some woven stuff, while on other figures the skirt is ornamented with a series of large bosses of an unknown material. One figure wears a cloak which while concealing the arms reveals the breasts. It does not extend below the hem of the skirt and may have been worn during the cool part of the day. Tight collars give an appearance of extra length to the neck. In one instance the collar seems to have been composed of a number of metal rings fastened together by vertical supports. The nude figures of bronze represent dancing girls and it is possible that, as in ancient Egypt, followers of this profession appeared without any clothes in certain dances.

It is difficult to deduce anything of the costume worn by men from the male figures portrayed on seal-amulets. Some appear nude and some wear a loin cloth. From the statutes it appears that a robe, with or without embroidery, was worn over the left shoulder and under the right arm. One statute wears a garment extending well below the knees and another, that of a seated figure, is dressed in a long skirt secured round the waist by a running cord. The figure of a man on a sherd found at Harappa appears to be wearing

breeches or a close clinging dhoti. That the art of sewing was practised may be assumed from the number of needles found at the site. No footwear of any kind is either depicted or was found.

Round buttons of copper, bronze, steatite and faience are common but it is not certain whether they were merely for decoration or served some purpose also. The most usual variety has a plain face with two converging holes at the back for thread and resemble buttons found in Malta, Portugal, Southern France, and many other countries. Metal specimens found are usually dome shaped with two holes at the top enabling them to be sewn to the garment; while certain small hemispherical buttons either have small cavities at the base bridged across with a strip, or they are hollow with loops inside like the cone-shaped head-dresses.

The decorative impulse of these people seems to have found full expression in their head-dresses, which are complicated and very elaborate. The exact material which composed the fan-shaped head-dress, so often worn by female figurines and even by the male, is not known though it may have been stiffened cotton cloth supported by a framework. It is also not possible to say what material formed the curious panier-like erections present in many instances on each side of the head; but their size and the fact that these were sometimes supported from the top of the head show that they must have been heavy. The fact that women of certain Mongolian tribes wear similar headgear even to-day is a good commentary on the way customs in dress persist through the ages. The elaborate head-dress completely hides the hair, giving no inkling of coiffure fashions; but in one statue a woman's curly hair hangs down her back. Figures of goddesses shown on amulets sometimes have a plait tied with a bow at the end. Since this is now a favourite mode of hair dressing in India it may be presumed that even then it was not exclusively reserved for goddesses.

Hair styles of men seem to have been quite elaborate and varied. The steatite statute of a deity wears his hair parted in the centre and the short locks at the back are kept tidy by a woven fillet. Other statutes show it closely gathered in a bun, after the fashion of ancient Sumer. Certain folds in the bun suggest that the hair was first plaited. Several clay figures have their hair coiled in a ring on the top of the head and in similar rings at the side concealing the ears; this arrangement is also found in Sumerian statuary. Another fashion is a plaited lock carried outward from the back of the head in a huge loop which turned in again and was secured by a fillet. Combs were sometimes worn in the hair.

Various methods of trimming beards are also indicated. A short beard with shaven upper lip is shown in two figures and a stiff flat, projecting beard on others. Another clay figurine has the end of the beard coiled inwards, in direct contrast to the false beards worn in ancient Egypt. In yet another case the beard consists of merely a slight tuft beneath the chin. Beards were never as long as at Sumer, possibly because the Indian climate was not suited to them.

Kohl pots and sticks found in the Indus Valley prove that women, and probably men also, used this or some similar black substance for the eyes; and an interesting find of rouge contained in cockle shells provides a link with contemporary Sumer, for the same type of shell used to hold face paints has been taken from tombs at Kish and Ur. Carbonate of lead has also been found at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro where it may have been used to whiten the face as in ancient China and Greece, or it may have served as an eye ointment or hair wash. Both sexes seem to have used small razors for depilatory purposes as a number of them have been found.

As Indian civilisation advanced, dress became complicated and ornamental. Vedic references to materials and manner of dressing point to regional developments of customs and tastes. The Rigveda, the earliest Indian literature, contains many references to dress.

According to its evidence, dress in those days consisted of two garments, viz., the *vasa* (or lower garment) and the *adhivasa* (or upper garment), though in the days of the later Samhitas, the *nivi* (or undergarment) had also come into use. Yogis wore skins or soiled garments. The *atkal* (a garment) appears to be described as woven and well-fitting though the meaning is doubtful. A sort of mantle or cloak (*drapi*) is often mentioned. A kind of embroidered garment (*pesas*) seems to have been used by female dancers, while a special dress called *vadhuya* was worn by the bride during the marriage ceremony and was later given away to a Brahmin. There seems to have been a general fashion for dressing well as may be inferred from words like "Suvasas" and "Suvasana" (well-clad). Garments were of various colours. There is, however, no clear evidence of different dresses for men and women.

The hair was kept combed and tidy. The use of the word "opasa" indicates plaiting of the hair. A maiden had her hair braided into four plaits. From the descriptions of Rudra and Pushan it would appear that men also wore their hair plaited or braided and the Vasisthas were noted for wearing their hair in a plait or coil on the right side. Beard and moustache are mentioned, but shaving is also referred to. The word 'Kshura' probably means razor.

The date of the Rigveda is highly controversial and uncertain. It is put as early as 4500 B.C. by Tilak and Jacobi and as late as 1500 B.C. by Radhakrishnan. By that time the use of clothing was very firmly established and the use of clothing metaphors are very frequent in the Rigveda: Usha (Dawn) is described as "..... a goddess, in person manifest like a maiden, who goes to the resplendent and munificent Sun and like a youthful bride before her husband, uncovers, smiling, her bosom in his presence." Elsewhere, she "like a wife desirous to please her husband, puts on becoming attire and smiling as it were, displays her charm." In a hymn to Indra, praises and hymn are compared to "elegant well-made garments (*vastrevabhadra sukrita*) as being fit to be received as a respectful present (*upasanharavadgra-hyani*)." From these passages it would appear that the use of clothing metaphors was well established and that the giving of garments as presents was an ancient custom, probably of Indian origin.

The age of the later Samhitas is put at 1,000 B.C. by Radhakrishnan, and 2,500 B.C. by Tilak. *Urna sutra* (woollen thread) is constantly mentioned in the later Samhitas and Brahmanas. *Urna* denoted not only sheep's wool but probably goat's hair also. The keenness of the Vedic people for ornamental dress seems to have been as great as in later periods. The dress of this period seems to have consisted of three garments—an undergarment (*nivi*), a garment proper (*vasa*) and an overgarment (*adhivasa*) like a mantle or cloak. The Satapatha Brahmana describes a set of sacrificial garments as consisting of a silk undergarment (*taipyra*), a garment of undyed wool and a turban (*ushnisha*), the last being used by both men and women. A special turban for kings is also mentioned. Sandals and shoes are referred to as made of boar skin. The frequent use of the variant term for 'warp' and 'woof' shows the great development reached by this time in the art of weaving garments.

Skins formed one class of Vedic clothing. It is noteworthy that none but gods and Brahmans wore skins, the only exceptions being the Vratya chieftains and their followers who wore double *ajmas* (goatskins) in order to form fur-lined fur wraps. The aboriginal forest tribes also wore skins of animals during dances. Goat skins, skins of antelopes and spotted deer, and in the earliest stages, probably cowhide, were used for dress. There is no mention of sheepskin or camel skin being worn or otherwise used. Other varieties of skins used were those of boars and antelopes for shoes, of tigers for seat spreads, of rhinoceros for chariots. The use of red cowhide for ritual seats and war drums is also mentioned.

The Arthashastra mentions a large number of wild animals from which furs and skins were obtained, e.g., large lizards called godhis (varanus), leopards, lions, tigers, elephants, buffaloes, etc., and many of the hides were used for making vessels. The art of tanning hides was known as early as the Rigveda. The generic name of all woollen goods was *rankava* and, sometimes, *lomaja* (woollen and hairy). The country of the Kamboja people, inhabiting tracts about the Hindu Kush and Ladakh, was famous for horses and for shawls made from goats', rats' and dogs' wool. The king of Kamboja brought for the Pandavas, cloth made of hair of the marine cat (otter?). The Ramayana (Lanka 113) speaks of carpets made of fleece of ranku (probably a species of wild goat, may be the Himalayan Ibex), of sheep and of hair. The Satapatha Brahmana uses the phrase "clothed, in skins (ajina-vasin)" and the furrier's trade is mentioned in the Vajasaneyi Samhita.

The Arthashastra enjoins the shearing of sheep and goats every six months. It describes woollen clothing, e.g., cloth made of sheep's wool was either pure red or rosy. Blankets (*kambala*) were made either by fastening borders or braids or were woven so as to have coloured designs. Nepal produced black, waterproof blankets of eight thicknesses, while great praise is showered on blankets of Bhutan by both the Arthashastra and old Bengali literature.

Kusa grass was apparently a material used for primitive clothing; the Kusa grass skirt, which the Vedic sacrificer's wife had to wear round her hips over her ordinary dress, is evidently a relic of the prehistoric grass garment. There is evidence to show that certain varieties of skins and grass were used in the Indo-Gangetic plain and were not imported by the Aryans from Central Asia. All the skins used belong to the lower Gangetic plain while sheepskin came from the north-west of the country.

Another material for clothing was wool (*urna*). Probably the first source of wool in Vedic India was the goat, just as the first skins worn were goat skins. *Urna* primarily means 'hairy covering of any animal', though it is also used to mean sheep's wool. There is little indication of the divine or ritual sanctity of wool. The use of wool was not prehistoric and was almost entirely secular. In the Atharvaveda, *kambalas* (blankets) and *samulyas* (which may have been vests, robes or wrappers of light cotton padding as are even now in use) were part of the ordinary outfit of men and women. All the more direct references to sheep farming seem to pertain to the north-west frontier of India where it seems to have been a staple industry and monopoly. The Indus region was "*Suvasa urna-vati*" (woolly) and produced fine clothing of goats and bears. The softest wool was that of the ewes also of Gandharans. Parusni was woolly and produced bleached or dyed woollens. Parusni wool is mentioned in early passages while Sindhu and Gandhara wool (further west) come later. Since the people from the east moved to the Punjab in gradual and well-marked stages the Parusni wool came to be known in the country before the further western Gandhara wool.

Silk is common in Vedic ritual. Thus the *vasas* of *tarpya* worn by kings at rituals (it was probably like the modern *kashida* embroidery on tasar silk) and with which a dead body was covered in order that the departed may go about properly covered in the realm of Yama (Death) was, according to the Atharvaveda, an ancient item of clothing. The silk was made from *Tripa* or *Triparna* leaves. (These probably refer to mulberry or other leaves suitable for cocoon rearing.) Susruta, Manu and Chanakya make distinction between wild and cultivated silk. Ksauma was another variety of silk which is found early and was put to ritual use. This position of silk supports the contention that it was in use with the indigenous population even before the advent of the Aryans. The *Mahabharata* mentions silk fabrics among the presents brought to Yudhishtra by feudatory princes from the Himalayan regions; whether this was made in India or imported from China is not clear. It is not certain at what stage silk weaving passed from China to India.



GIRL FROM NORTH INDIA



A VILLAGE GIRL FROM THE PUNJAB

Photos : Darshan Ladd



THE COSTUME OF BODHISATTVA IN A SCULPTURE IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

The Bodhisattva wears a cap topped with a bow, a long flowing *dupatta* and a *dhoti*. The ornaments are interesting.



THE COSTUME OF A BODHISATTVA IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

The Bodhisattva wears a *dupatta*, a *dhoti*, a twisted *kamarband* and Grecian sandals. The folds of the drapery are well emphasised.

(From *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Vol. VIII)

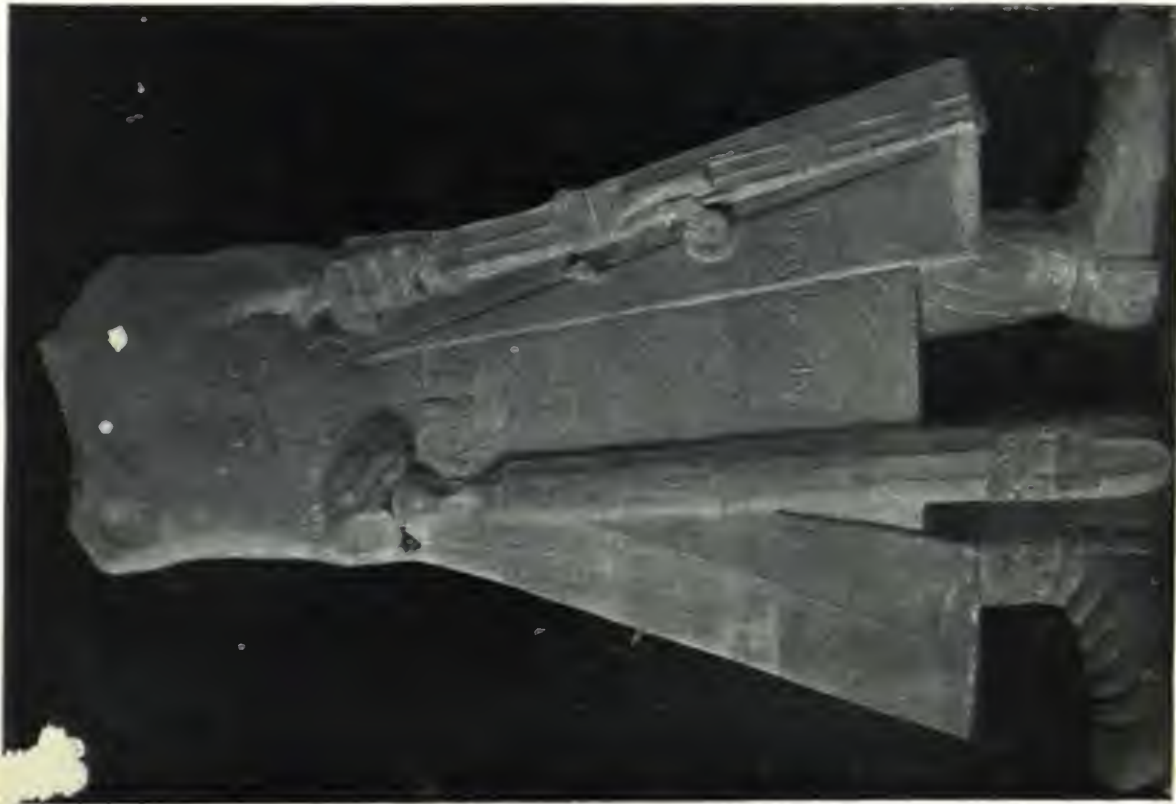


THE COSTUME OF HARITI IN A GANDHARA SCULPTURE
The plaited and twisted hair is tied round the head. She wears a long tunic and *chadar*. The children around her wear typically Indian *dhotis* or exotic tunics.

(From *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Vol. VIII)



THE COSTUME OF THE BUDDHA IN A GANDHARA SCULPTURE IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM
Mars holds of the *chadar* and the nether garment



THE COSTUME OF THE KUSHANA RULER KANISHKA;
END OF THE 1ST CENTURY A.D.

The headless statue of Kanishka in the Mathura Museum gives us an idea of the typical Scythian costume in the first century A.D. The King wears a tunic, a belt, a long overcoat and thick riding boots.

(By Courtesy of *Archaeological Museum, Mathura*)



THE COSTUME OF HARITI FROM SIRKAP, TAXILA

The image of Hariti gives the typical mode of wearing a sari in the Punjab in second century A.D. One end of the sari is tied to the waist and the other passed over the left shoulder.

(From *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry*)



1.

A male figure of the third century A.D., representing either a soldier or rough tribesman is shown wearing a belt made of bark cloth or skin secured to the waist with a twisted belt (Fig. 1). The Gupta docr keeper wears a flowing *dupatta* and a short *dhoti* or tight shorts (Fig. 2).



2.

COSTUME TYPES IN THE LATE KUSHANA AND EARLY GUPTA PERIOD

(By Courtesy of *Archaeological Museum, Mathura*)

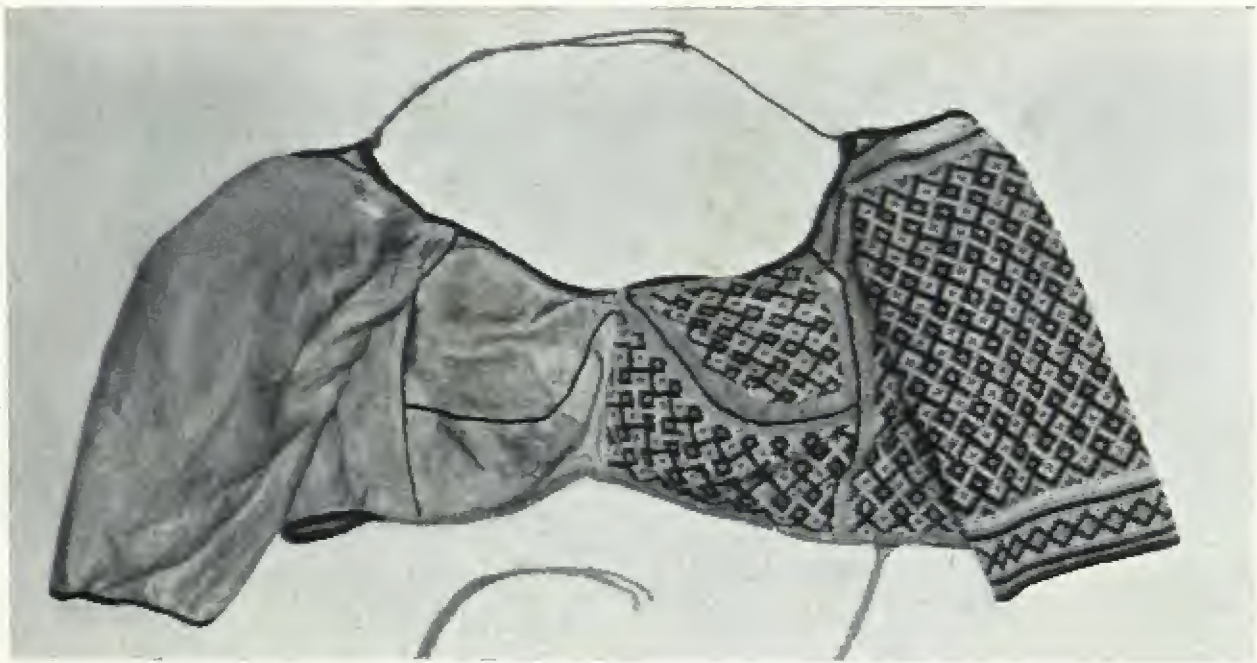


THE COSTUME OF A KUSHANA RULER IN SECOND CENTURY A.D.
The king wears a long *jamah* embroidered in front and tightened at the waist with a *kamarbanda*, and embroidered turban or cap, long trousers and tall boots.

(By Courtesy of Archaeological Museum, Mathura)



THE COSTUME OF WOMAN OF GUPTA AGE
The terracotta figurine of a woman of the Gupta age wears a bicornate headdress, a long veil and probably a tunic.



AN EMBROIDERED KATARA CHOLI WORN IN RAJASTHAN, IN A TWO-SIDED EFFECT
(By Courtesy of *The Calico Museum of Textiles*, Ahmedabad)



FEMALE COSTUME IN THE KUSHANA PERIOD

In the female torso of the Kushana period in Mathura Museum only traces of the *dupatta* are left. The details of necklaces and bangles, however, are fully brought out
(By Courtesy of *Archaeological Museum*, Mathura)



COSTUMES OF AJANTA

A fresco from Ajanta as reproduced at the Jaipur Museum and depicting the Conquest of Lanka (Ceylon) by Wijeyo.
 (From *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Vol. XVI)



A YOUNG NOBLEMAN.

A Mughal Miniature of the 17th century, depicting the costume of the period

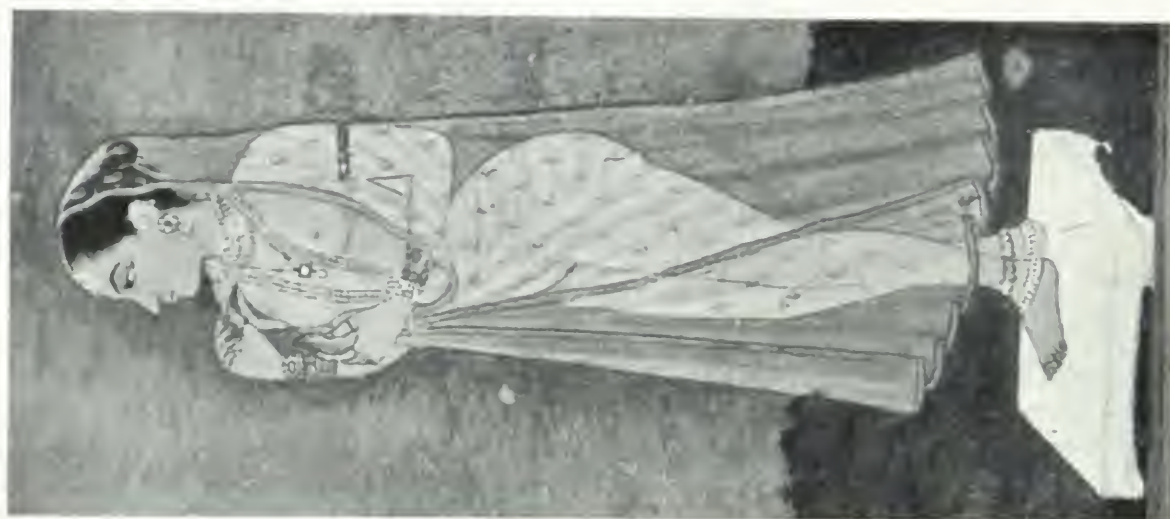


YOUTH WITH BOOK

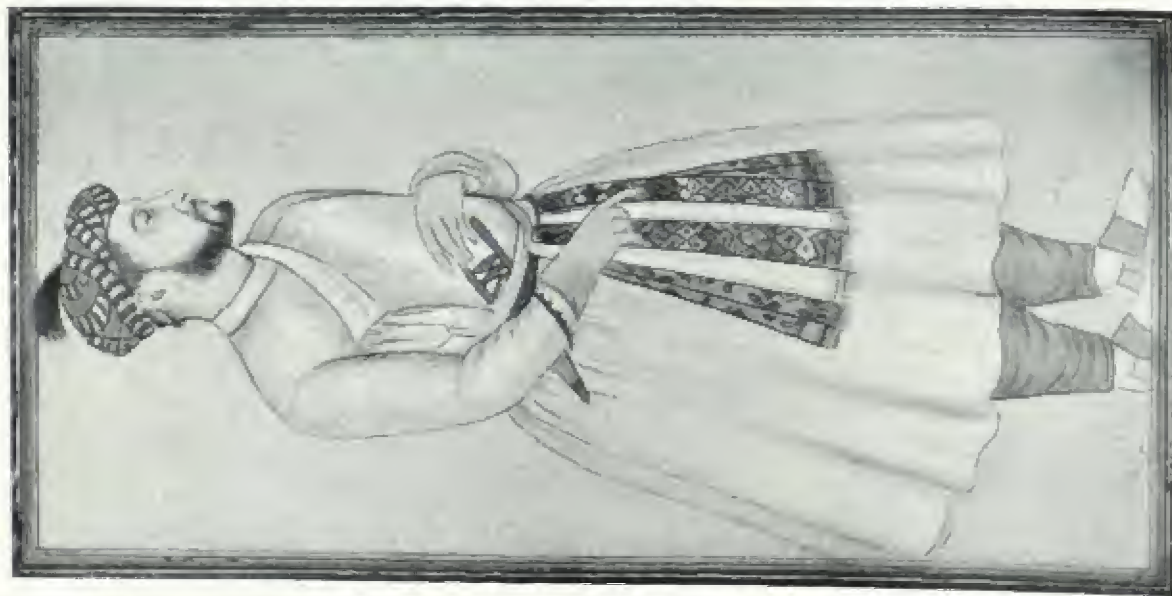
A Mughal Miniature of the 17th century, depicting the costume of the period



IVORY PAINTING—DELHI, 19th CENTURY
In State Museum of Oriental Culture, U.S.S.R.



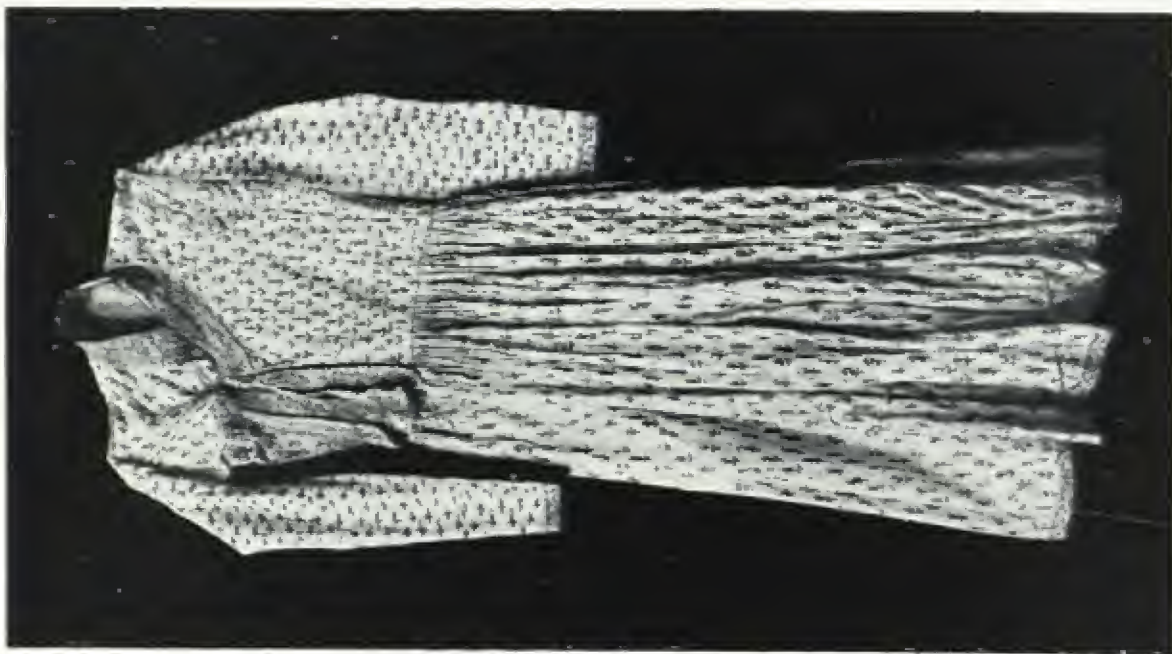
A HAREM WOMAN
Moghul Miniature of the 17th century.



"A LANDLORD OF BENGAL."

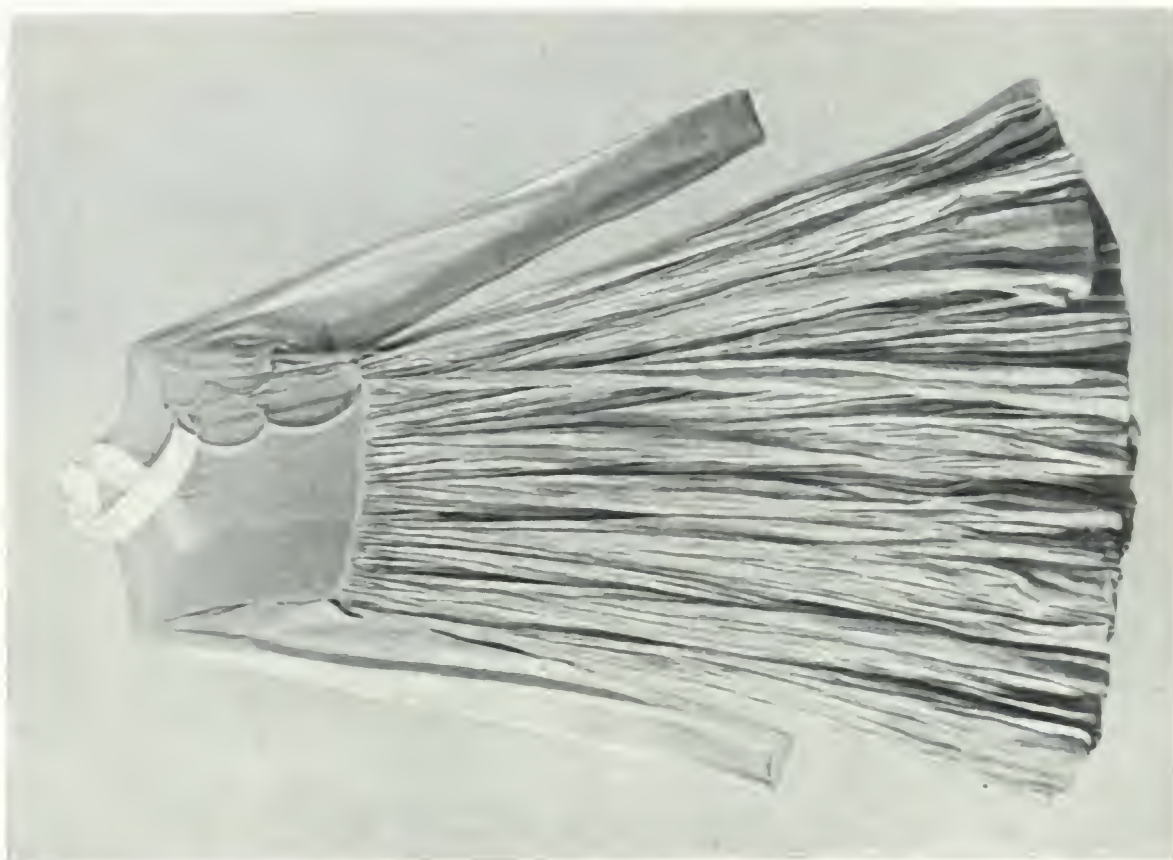
Miniature of the Mughal School, 17th cent., depicting the *Jamah* of the period.

(From *State Hermitage*, U.S.S.R.)



WHITE COTTON JAMAH

Embroidered with silver spray flowers, Mughal, 1700 A.D.
(By Courtesy of *Parada Museum and Picture Gallery*)

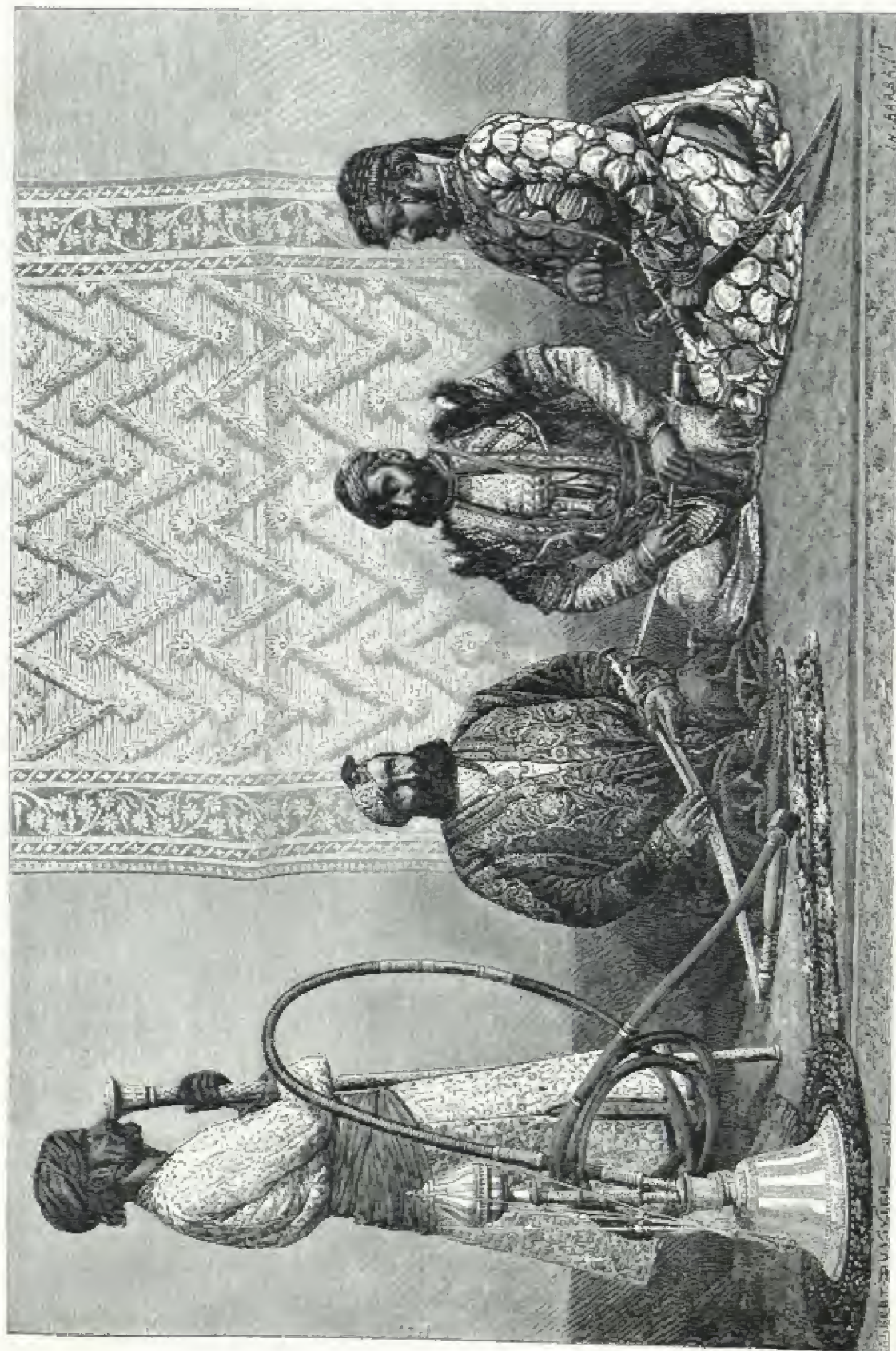


MUSLIM ANGARKHA

Pleated and tied to one side. The sleeves were pushed up when worn.
(Courtesy of *The Calico Museum of Textiles*, Ahmedabad)



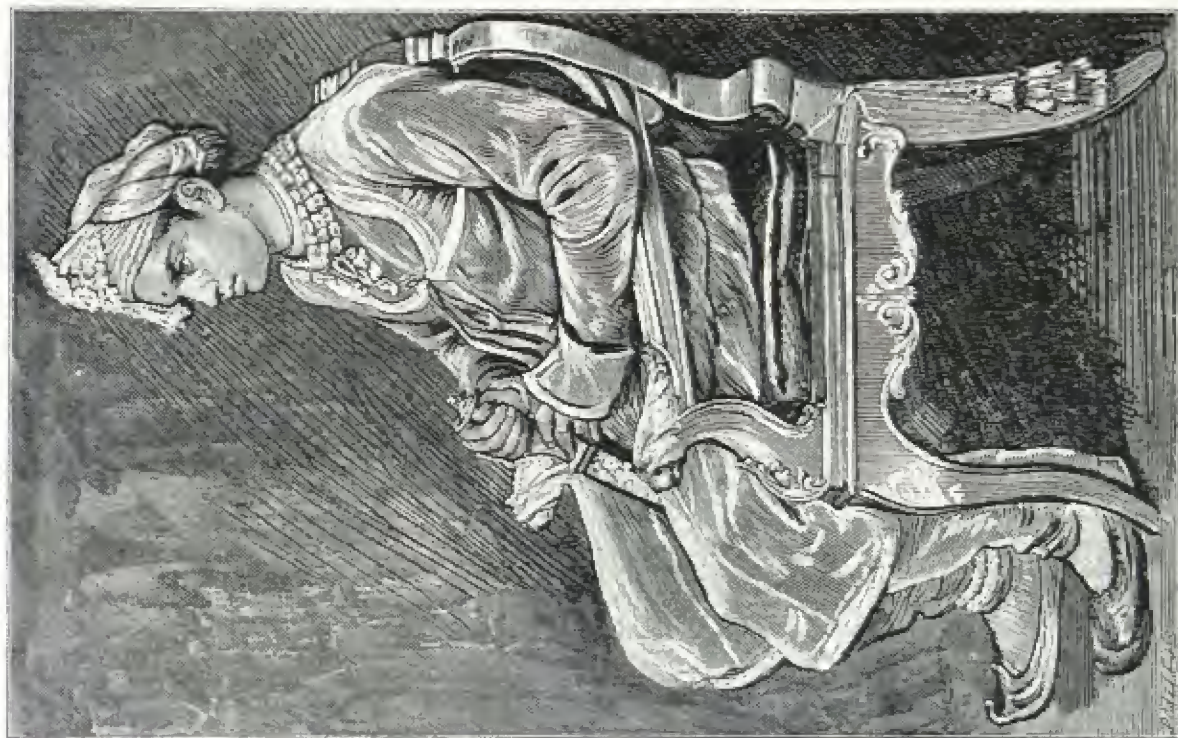
PARSI PRIESTS IN THE TRADITIONAL. JAMAH
(Painting by M. V. Dhurandhar)



COSTUMES OF LANDOWNERS OF THE NORTHERN PROVINCES OF INDIA, 19th Century
 (From *L'Inde des Rajahs* by Louis Rousselet)



DRESS OF A KASHMIR PRINCE, 19th Century



DRESS OF THE GAEKWAR OF BARODA, 19th Century

(From *Imperial India* by V. C. Princep)



DRESS OF THE MAHARANI OF BARODA, 19th Century



DRESS OF THE MAHARAJA OF INDORE, 19th Century

(From *Imperial India* by V. G. Princep)



DRESS OF THE RAJA OF NABHA, 19th Century

(From *Imperial India* by V. C. Princep)



DRESS OF THE MAHARAJA OF JODHPUR, 19th Century



DRESS OF THE MAHARAJA OF REWA, 19th Century

(From *Imperial India* by V. C. Princep)



DRESS OF THE MAHARAJA OF UDAIPUR, 19th Century



DRESS OF PARSI CHILDREN OF THE 19TH CENTURY
(From *L'Inde des Rajahs* by Louis Rousselet)



RAJ. WOMEN OF RAJASTHAN IN NATIVE COSTUME
(Photo: Asad K. Syed)



COSTUME OF HINDU WOMEN FROM BOMBAY, 19th Century
(From *L'Inde des Rajahs* by Louis Rousselet)



HIGH CASTE HINDU LADY SHOWING MODE OF DRESS
(From *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Vol. XII)



UDAIPUR



JODHPUR



JAIPUR



BUNDI

TURBAN STYLES FROM DIFFERENT PLACES
(From *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Vol. XII)



GWALIOR



REWAH



DHAR



INDORE

TURBAN STYLES OF DIFFERENT PLACES
(From *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Vol. XII)



AN ORNATE BROCADED WAISTCOAT IN AN ELEGANT STYLE

With scalloped sleeves, sides and pockets.

(By Courtesy of *The Calico Museum of Textiles*, Ahmedabad)



A KURTA OR DRESS DESIGNED BY HURBAI OF BHUJ

(From *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry*)



EMBROIDERED WOOLLEN GARMENTS FROM KASHMIR
(From *Le Costume en Orient* by Max Tilke)

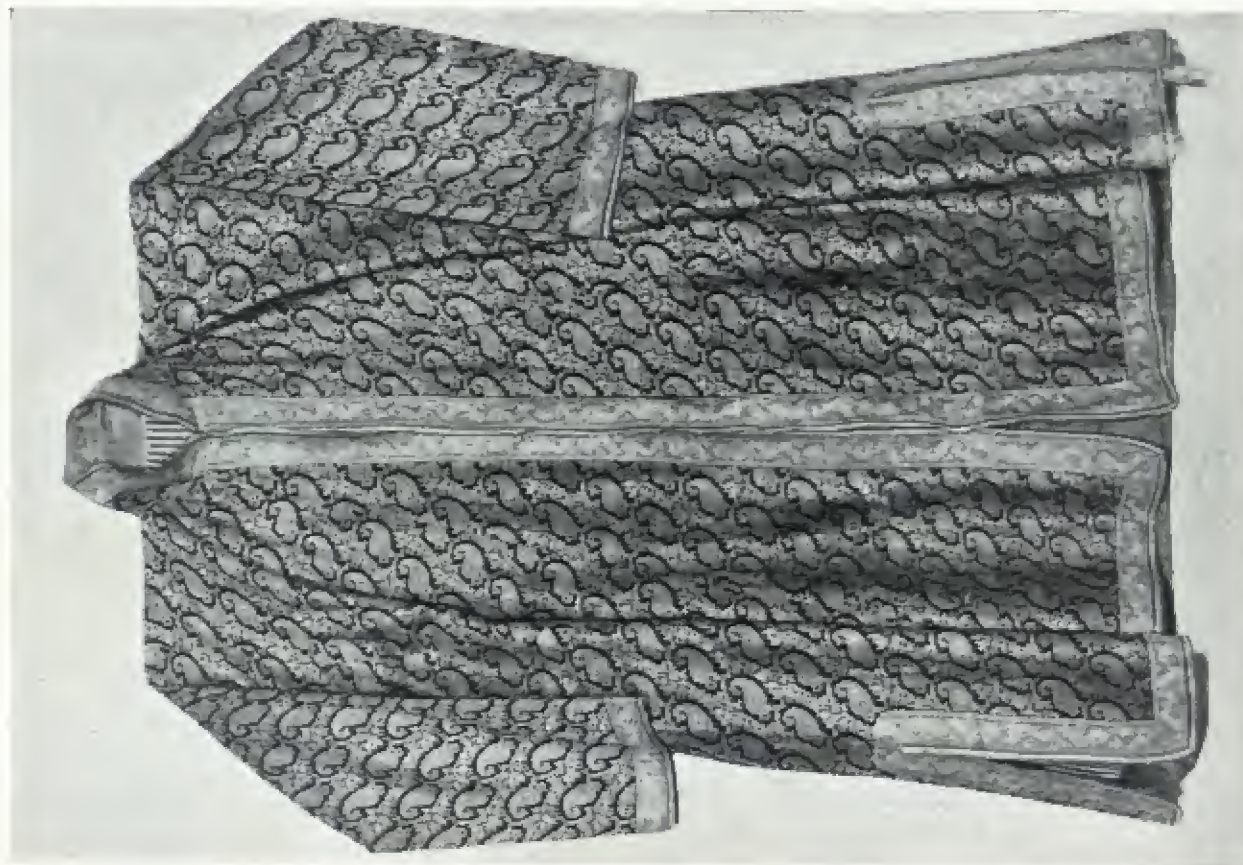


GATHERED PAJAMAS



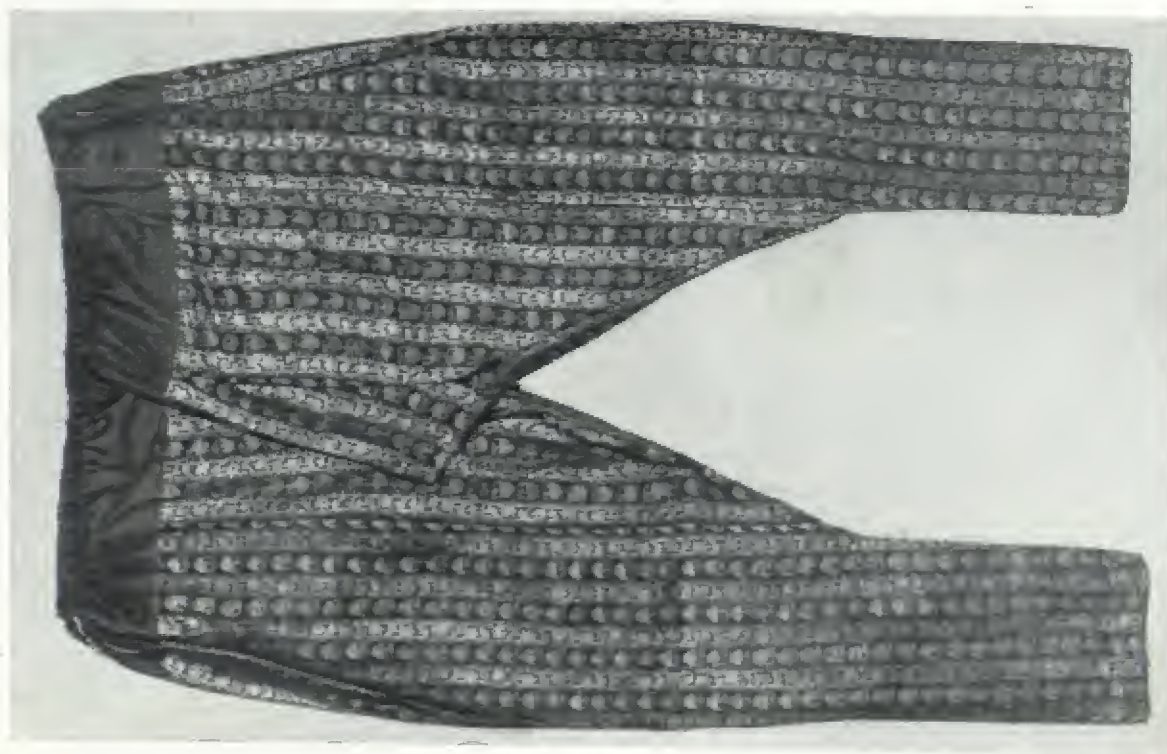
AN EMBROIDERED COAT WITH ANIMAL MOTIFS

(By Courtesy of *The Calico Museum of Textiles, Ahmedabad*)

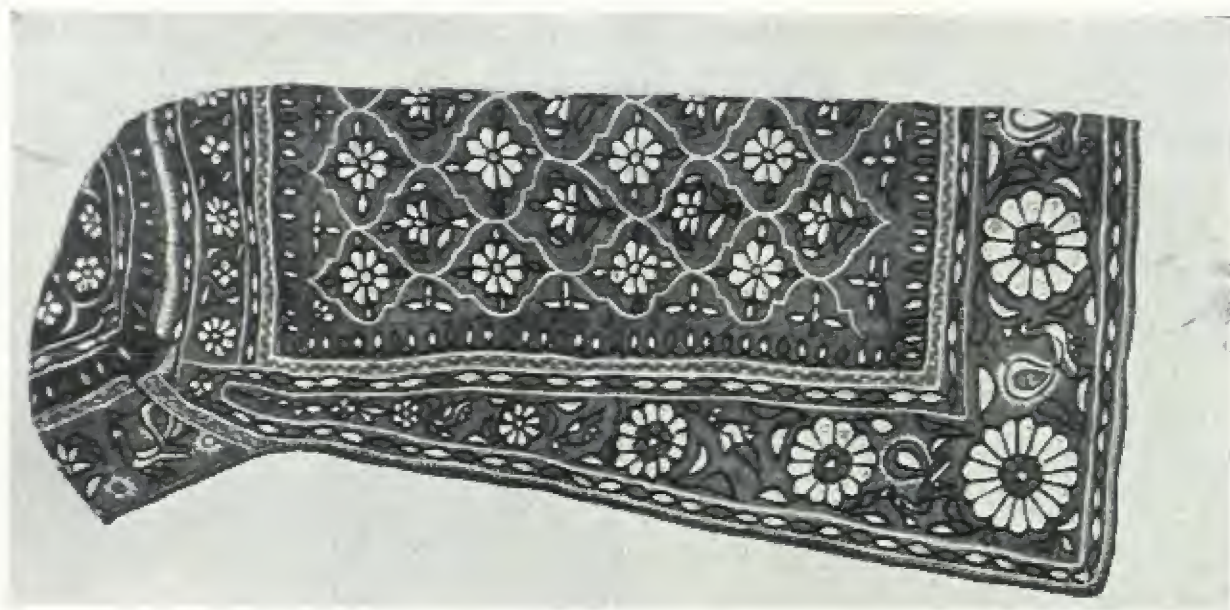


A DURBAR COAT IN LOOSE STYLE, IN HEAVY BROCADE, WITH
A STRIPED SILK LINING

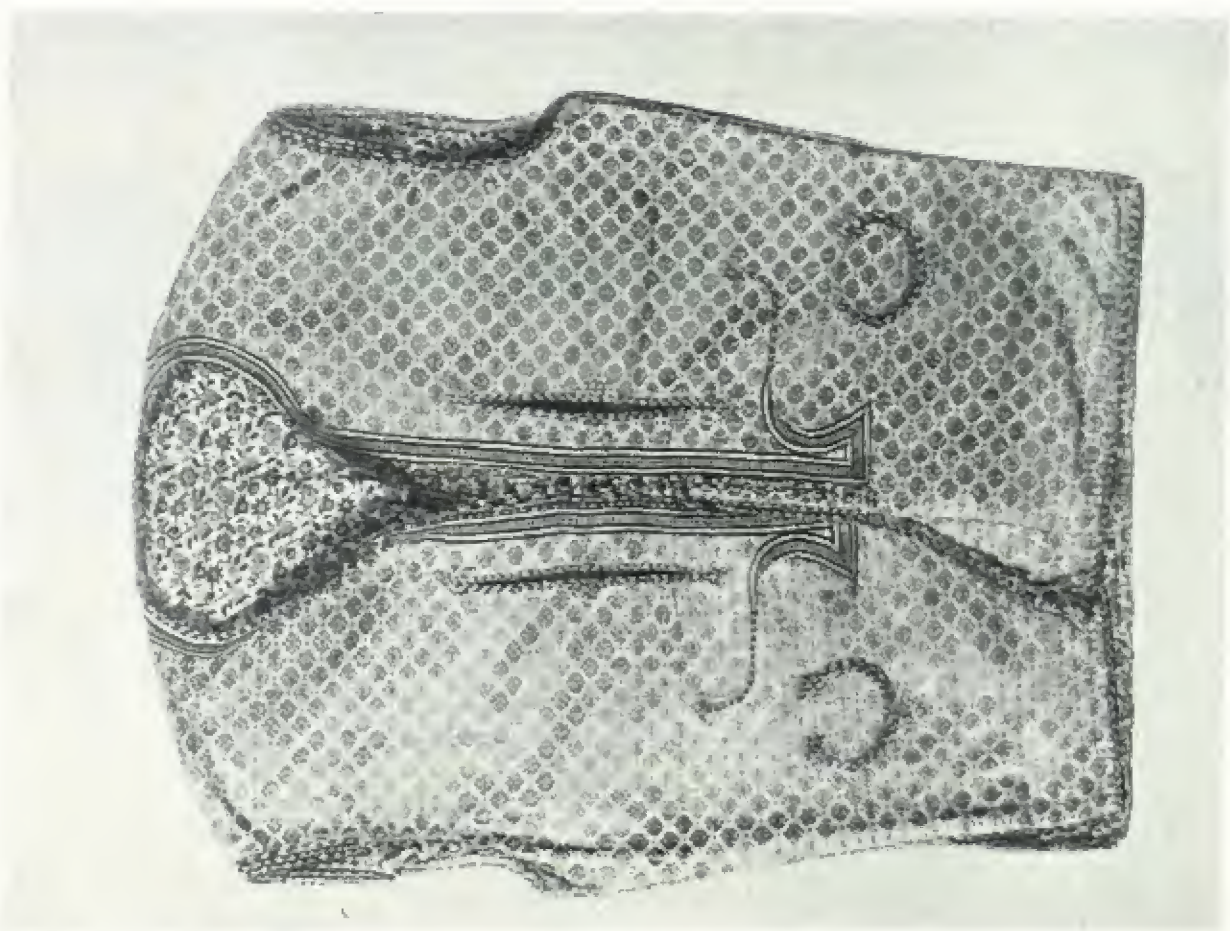
(By Courtesy of *The Calico Museum of Textiles, Ahmedabad*)



PAJAMAS IN BROCADE IN A FLORAL STRIPE WHICH
WAS VERY POPULAR



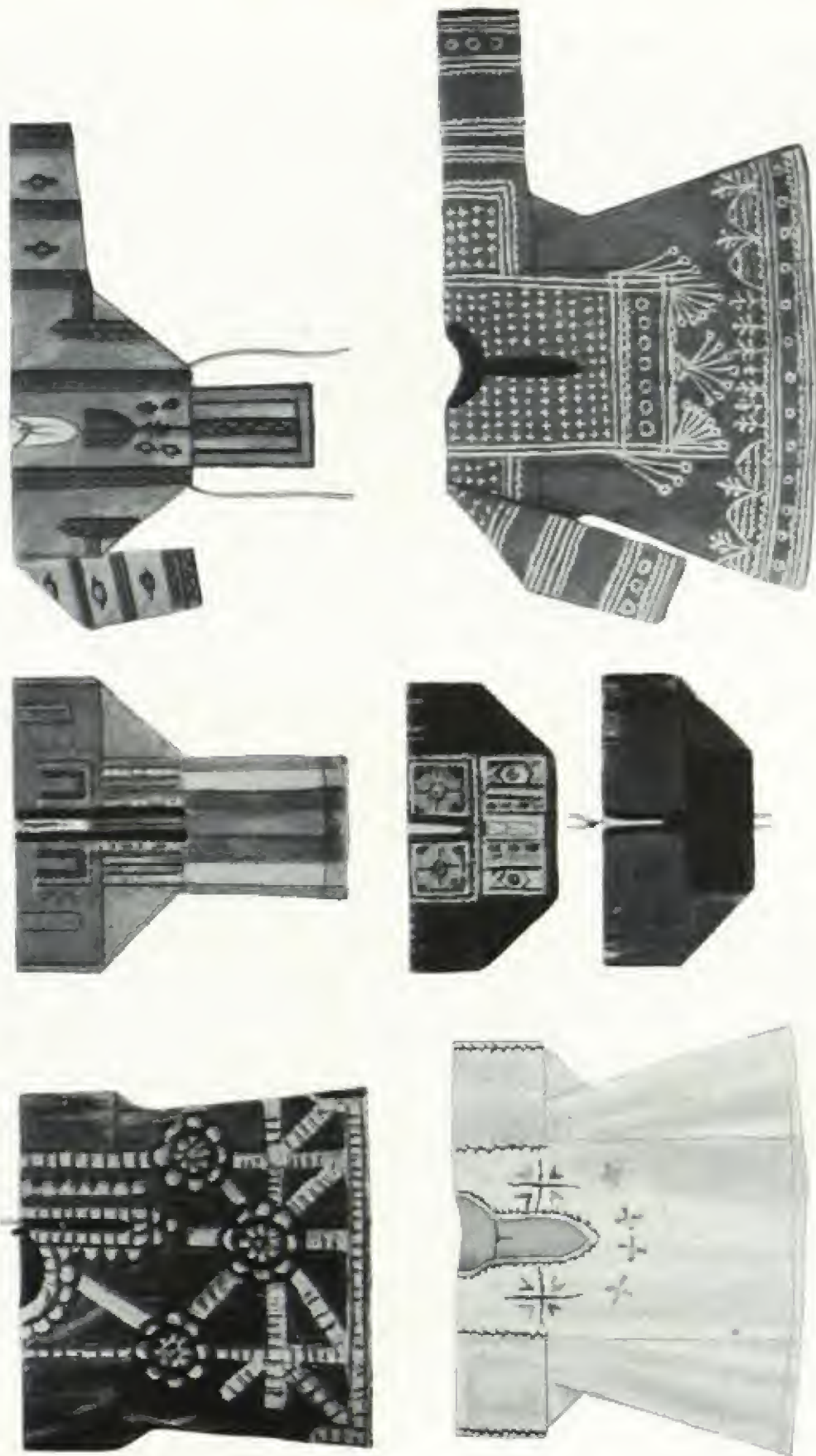
CHAIN EMBROIDERED COVER
Made in Kutch



WAIST-COAT WITH FOUR POCKETS

Finished in braid and lined in cotton with a floral pattern

(By Courtesy of *The Calico Museum of Textiles, Ahmedabad*)



EMBROIDERED GARMENTS FOR WOMEN AND CHILDREN FROM NORTHERN INDIA

(From *L'Art Costumier en Orient* by Max Tilke)



A CHOLI IN SATIN



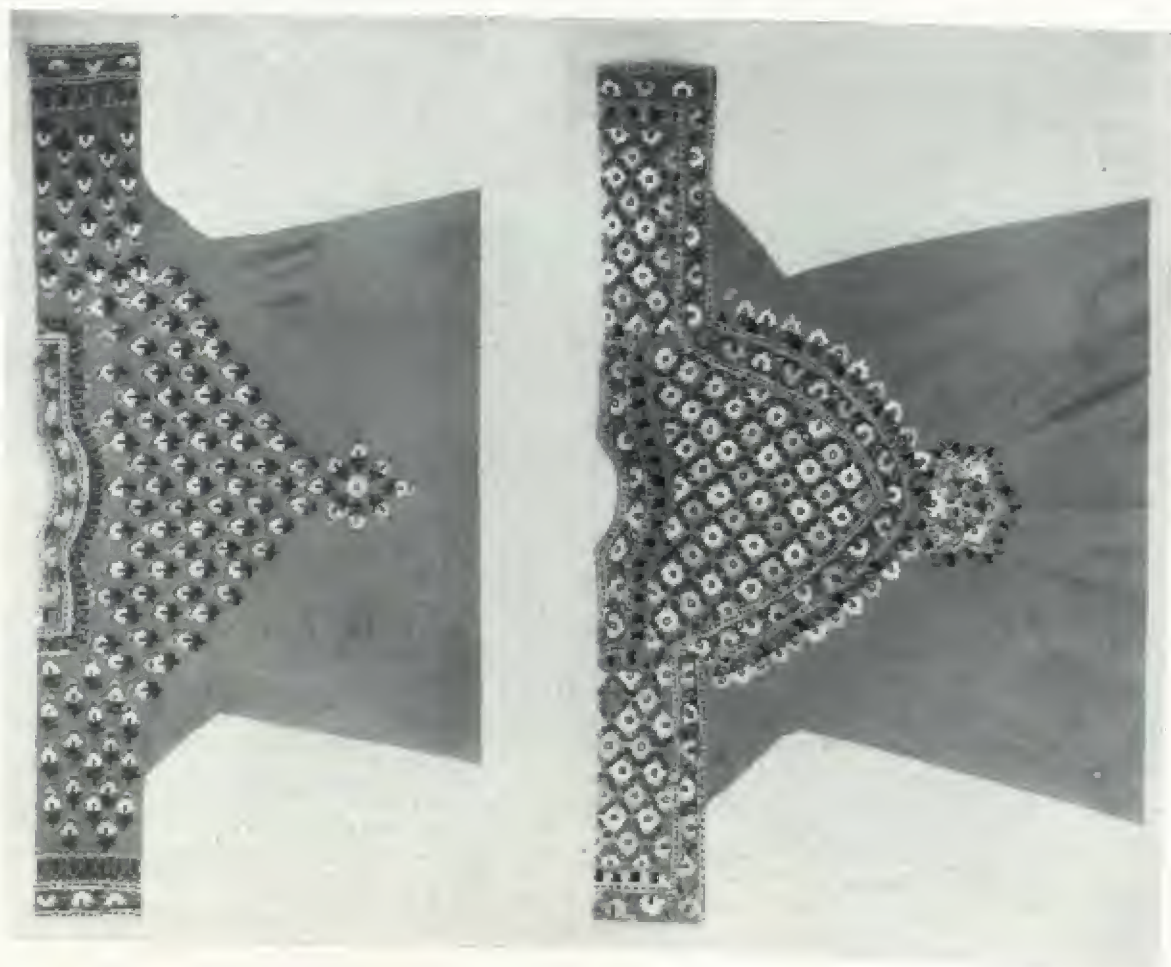
TWO CHOLIS IN SILK

(From *Broderies Hindoues*)



EMBROIDERED VEST IN SILK (FRONT AND BACK)

(From *Broderies Hindoues*)



TWO VESTS ORNAMENTED WITH EMBROIDERY AND PIECES OF MIRROR

(From *Broderies Hindoues*)



DOLLS DRESSED IN TRADITIONAL COSTUMES AND REPRESENTING A HINDU MARRIAGE PROCESSION
(From *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Vol. XV)



DOLL. SHOWING HINDU MODE OF WEARING DRESS
AND ORNAMENTS, 19th CENT.



DOLL SHOWING MODE OF WEARING DRESS AND
JEWELLERY IN NORTH INDIA, 19th CENT.

(From *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Vol. XII)



NOBLEMEN OF UDAIPUR IN TRADITIONAL DRESS

(Photo : Asad K. Syed)



LADY IN TRADITIONAL MUGHAL COSTUME

(Photo : A. I. Syed)



SKETCHES OF MEN AND WOMEN OF INDIA OF YESTERDAY AND TODAY



GIRL OF BOMBAY



FOLK DANCER

(Photos : Darshan Lall)

The Arthashastra states that patrorna (a variety of silk) was obtained from Magadha, Pundra and Suvarnakudya. Its origin is said to have been the trees Naga, Lakucha, Vakula and Vata. "That obtained from the Naga tree is yellow; that from the Lakucha tree (*Artocarpus lakoocha*) is of the colour of wheat; that from the Vakula tree (*Mimusops elengi*) is white; and that from Vata tree (*Ficus bengalensis*) is the colour of butter. Of these that produced in the country of Suvarna-Kudya is the best". The author concludes the list of silks by mentioning Kausheya and the China patta as manufactured in China but does not give details. Lexicographers take the Naga tree to denote the trees Naga-kesara and Punnaga, the flowers of which have yellow anthers.

There is a remarkable reference in the Markandeya Purana to a peculiar fabric which could be purified by fire. That the robe was rare and highly prized is evident from the text. The only fibrous material indestructible by fire and suitable for spinning is the mineral known as asbestos, especially, the variety known as Amianth. A fibrous variety of asbestos is found in many parts of India and ropes of it are made in Afghanistan. Whether the incombustible robe was made in India or imported from Egypt where priests wore asbestos cloth is an open question.

References to weaving are very common from the Rigveda onwards. The term "vasa vaya" (weaver of sheep's cloth) shows that other *vayas* had already risen and these produced sundry piece-goods other than the standard *vasa* or wearing cloth. There were female weavers, *vayitris* and *siris*, from earliest times. Technical terms connected with weaving like *otu* (woof, web) *tanlu* (yarns, threads or other filaments), *tantra* (warp or loom) are frequently found in the Vedic texts.

The frequently used terms *Vasas*, *Vasana*, *Vastra*, etc., with all their manifold parts and appliances for production so often detailed, can only refer to the Gangetic cotton manufactures (probably a pre-historic craft) since specific names are given where silks are intended, e.g., *tarpya*. Woollens are similarly distinguished as *vasas* derived from *avis* or *urna*. Since cotton was an indigenous industry it became sacred with the Aryans. The valuable properties of the cotton-wool produced from the cotton shrub were early discovered. In the Rigveda Day and Night are described as two famous female weavers intertwining the extended thread. Cotton cloth was new to the Greeks, however, who came to India with Alexander. They described it as wool taken from trees instead of sheep. Megasthenes says that Indians' "robes are worked in gold and ornamented with precious stones and they wear also flowered garments made of the finest muslin." Arrian describes the voyage of Nearchus, a traveller in the East. According to him the dress worn by the Indians was cotton. The Indian cotton, he says, "was either of a brighter white colour than any found elsewhere or the darkness of the Indians' complexion makes their apparel look so much the whiter."

There was trade in cotton-wool and cotton fibres which yielded revenue to kings. The Arthashastra mentions Madhura, Aparanta (Konkan), Kalinga (northern Sircars), Banaras, Vanga (E. Bengal), Vatsa-desa (above Allahabad) and the Mahishla country on the banks of the Narbada below Jubulpore, as being the centres of manufacture of the finest cotton cloth. Madras and the Punjab did not produce good cotton. The account given by the Arthashastra agrees substantially with that given by Marco Polo who travelled through a large part of Asia in 1290 A.D. Old Bengali literature abounds in references to cotton cultivation. The god Siva is described as a cultivator of cotton and food grains. Almost every home had a spinning wheel and the village weaver wove the yarn into cloth. Kings owned arable land where cotton was planted. The Arthashastra describes this in the chapter on the Royal Farm. The chapter on spinning and weaving gives a picture which is as true now-a-days as it was in the 4th Century B.C.

The *vasas* known to the priests is the same in the several Samhitas and Brahmanas and its description could easily apply to the modern handloom products of Bengal. It

had borders and fringes and ornamental embroidery. There were two lengthwise and two breadthwise borders of the same design for each pair. The breadthwise border is the broader of the two and is designated the *nivi*. (There seems to be a great deal of difference between various authorities about the meaning of the word *nivi*. To some it indicates the ornamental border of the *vasa* while to others it signifies the knot which held the garment in place. Still others use it to be mean an undergarment.) From this end depended the *praghata* (strikers), the long and loose unwoven fringe with swaying tassels. As in the modern saree one end was ornamented, the other being left much plainer. To this plain edge would be attached the *tusa* or shorter fringe. The *arokah* (or brilliants) seem to have been stars, spots or flowers embroidered all over the cloth.

\ For ritual purposes the cloth had to be unbleached and unwashed, but ordinarily it was woven white. Dyed cloths with rich, gold-thread brocades were worn by gay, young women. Red and gold borders are indicated by their comparison to sunrise and sunset. The *Vratya grahpati* (householder) favoured dark blue (*Krsnasa*) cloths and borders. The name *hagdu* (modern khaddar and khadi) is given to these cloths. This peculiarity of the *Vratyas* is preserved, ironically enough, in the Muslim population of Bengal which, probably, represents the indigenous basic population of the province (The *Vratyas* were probably nomadic Aryans beyond the pale of Brahmanism).

The ceremonial dress for a boy after initiation was an upper garment of black buckskin (*vavr*), or of cloth (*parodhanam*). The clothing was of wool or cotton and was coloured red or blue. The family of the *Vasisthas* was distinguished from others by their colourless or white clothes. The upper garment, whether of skin or cloth, hung from the left shoulder, was wound about the body and tucked under the right shoulder. This was the *Upavita* mode invariably adopted at religious rites and for study and prayer. It was regarded as being the badge of *Brahmacharya* (continence) or concentration and accumulation of energy. The *Samvita* mode, allowing the cloth to hang down on both sides from the neck, was adopted when the initiate performed the routined duties of daily life. It was akin to the mode of tying the waist band of the *Asuras*, and possibly the *Assyrians*, and denoted gaiety in the eyes of the Aryans. At the offering to the manes the mode known as *Pranchinavita* was adopted, allowing the cloth to hang down from the right shoulder and under the left arm. In later times, the cloth was apparently replaced by a sacred thread of three strands. It was usually homespun, as homespun articles were invariably used on sacred occasions. The badge of *Brahmacharism* was a *munja* girdle. There was a similar initiation for girls in Vedic times. The reference to the sacred vesture or triple thread of *Sarasvati* bears clear evidence to this effect. The girdle tied round the boy's waist had its counterpart in the girdle tied round the wife's waist at sacrifices.

\ Before returning home after completing his studies, the Indian scholar took a bath, cut his hair and nails and cleaned his teeth. A fire was kindled and sacrifices offered. He was dressed and equipped with earrings, shoes, a pair of robes, a jewel, a turban, a crown of flowers, powder for rubbing on his body and ointment.

\ A superintendent of weaving is mentioned in the *Arthashastra* of *Kautilya* to employ qualified persons to manufacture threads (*sutra*) coats (*varna*) cloths (*vastra*). Widows, crippled women, mendicants or ascetic women, women compelled to work in default of paying fines, mothers of prostitutes and other such women, were employed to cut wool, cotton, etc. The wages were fixed according to whether the threads were coarse, medium or fine. Special rewards were given for work done on holidays and for work well done. Women forced to earn a livelihood were provided with the work of spinning out the thread. Those who misappropriated, stole or ran away with the raw material supplied to them had their thumbs cut off.

\ The needle and sewing are mentioned in the *Rigveda* and the *Amara Sinha*. In the latter there are two words for workers with needles, one applying exclusively to darners and

the other to general tailoring. The first is *tunnava*, a word similar to *tantuvaya*, a weaver, and the other *sauchika* or *suchika*, general worker with needle. The profession of the latter was of sufficient importance to necessitate the establishment of a separate tribe and a mixed caste; the lawful issue of Vaisya by Sudra women, was, according to the ancient law book of Us'anas, destined to live by it and other manual arts. These bore the distinctive name of Sauchi or needlemen. By the time the laws of Manu came to be codified, however, the profession of weaving had fallen so much into disrepute that it was forbidden to Brahmins.

The sculptures of Sanchi, Barhut, Amaravati and Orissa show made-up dresses although the majority of the figures are shown in the nude. In Sanchi bas-reliefs the figures are shown wearing tunics. In Orissa, in the queen's palace among the rock-cut caves of Udayagiri there is a statue, 4 feet 6 inches high, which is dressed in a close fitting tunic (*chapkan*) with the skirts hanging 4 inches below the knees and with sleeves hanging down to the wrists. A light scarf passes round the waist and over the left shoulder, the ends floating in the air. A cummerbund-like girdle round the waist holds, on the left side, a sword. The head is partly mutilated but there are traces on it of a turban. The legs and feet are encased in high, thick boots. These are noteworthy because nothing of the kind has been found so early in India. Several statuettes in the Muktesvara temple at Bhubhanesvar are dressed in kilts or petticoats, the Indian *ghagra*, held round the waist by a jewelled girdle. Among the Ajanta frescoes there is a picture of two holy men; one of them, wearing a long robe reaching to the feet, with full, round sleeves, holds a cup and is touching the head of an elephant; the other who has a nimbus round his head has elaborate drapery in folds like that of a Greek statue. In the two principal statues in the great temple of Bhubhanesvar in Orissa, which are made of a superior kind of chlorite and placed in deep recesses protected from the sun and rain, the artist has tried to produce a vestment of rich brocade, proving that such fabrics were highly prized articles of luxury. Various cloths of different designs have been put on the statues, and stripes, sprigged designed and stripes relieved by flowers have been represented.

The description given by Homer of the robe of Ulysses in the 19th Book of the *Odyssey* accurately describes a Banarasi kinkhab of the shikargah or "happy hunting ground" design.

"In ample mode

A robe of military purple flowed

O'er all his frame; illustrious on his breast

The double-clasping gold the king confest.

In the rich woof a hound, mosaic drawn,

Bore on full stretch, and seized a dappled fawn;

Deep in his neck his fangs indent their hold;

They pant and struggle in the moving gold."

When this passage is read with others in Homer there is ample proof of the traditional descent of the kinkhab of Banaras through the looms of Babylon, Tyre and Alexandria from designs and technical methods which, probably, in prehistoric times originated in India itself and were already known even before the periods of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. Atheneacus in A.D. 230 quotes from Duris (285-247 B.C.) description of a cloak worn by Demetrius (330 B.C.) into which were woven stars and the twelve signs of the Zodiac representing the heavens. This was the design of an Indian kinkhab called *Chand tara* (moon and stars).

According to Valmiki, the trousseau of Sita consisted of "woollen stuffs, furs, precious stones, fine silk vestments of diverse colours, princely, ornamental and sumptuous carriage

of every kind." When Rama and his brother came home after their marriage, the women of the household "eager to embrace their beauteous daughters, received the happy Sita, the far-famed Urmila and the two daughters of Kushadhvaja, all sumptuously dressed in silk and entertaining each other with agreeable conversation hastened to the temples of the gods to offer incense."

From the sculptures of Sanchi, Amaravati, Bhubhanesvar and even Ajanta we may assume that the 'dhoti' was tied in the same way 1200 years ago as it is today. The chaddar or scarf was draped over the shoulders at the back and was flung from the right to the left in front. For full dress the chapkan-like tunic, closing with bows slightly to one side, shown on the arches at Sanchi, was probably the prevailing garb for kings, princes and men of quality; while the long-flowing *jama* was meant for men of lesser quality. The *jama* was a long garment with a gathered skirt attached to a bodice, and with long, tight sleeves. The scarf was either thrown round the shoulder or tied round the waist like a cummerbund. The body cloth under the outer coat was probably the dhoti. The *jama* may have been brought by the Aryans from Central Asia. The Mughals at the time of Akbar adopted it as the Court dress. Whether the buttons found at Harappa and Mohenjodaro were used in the modern way or not has not been established; but it is certain that later Indians held their clothes together by use of bows rather than with buttons which we do not find until after the advent of the British.

The prevailing character of ordinary female dress in sculpture is alike in all these places. "Both at Sanchi and Amaravati the women always wear enormous bangles around the ankles and wrists and generally strings of beads round the neck, but their body clothing is generally limited to a bead belt round the body below the waist. From this belt strips of cloth are sometimes suspended, more generally at the side or behind than in front and sometimes also a cloth worn something like the dhoti of the male sex, is added, but when that is the case it is represented in the sculptures generally as absolutely transparent."

The forms of ancient made-up garments having fallen into disuse their names have also now become obsolete. There are, nevertheless, some words the import of which cannot be mistaken, e.g., *kancholika*, *angika*, *chola*, *kurpasaka*, etc. Of these the first is the most important. It is defined as a "soldier's dress shaped like a bodice," a made-up garment hanging either as low as the hip or lower down to the leg, i.e., a jacket or coat. The word *sannaha* used for a mail coat as well as a coat of quilted cotton has been sometimes confounded with the *varma* or chain mail and in some modern dictionaries is described as "an iron garment for the protection of the body from arrows"; but that it was formerly made from cloth is evident from its having been used by other than warriors. The sages and hermits who came to the great festival of Yudhishtara are described in the *Mahabharata* as being dressed in turbans and *kanchukas* and in their case the coat cannot be accepted as being one of chain mail. The immediate attendants of the king are also described as being similarly clad and from various descriptions the garment may be taken to resemble the Indian *jama*.

In the *Ratnavali* of Sriharsha, a warder offers protection under the folds of the *kanchuka* to a dwarf who has been frightened by a monkey. This could not have been possible unless the coat had been of cloth with skirts hanging down close to the ankles.

The diminutive of the *kanchuka* is *kanchulika* which is universally known as having been a cloth bodice worn by respectable women and goddesses. Till the beginning of the twentieth century, a thin light jacket reaching the waist and having elbow length sleeves, was worn over the *kanchulika* and was known as the *angia*. The name of the male jacket may be corruption of the same word *angarkha*.

The veil, bodice, and body clothes are repeatedly mentioned in the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*; and both in the Hindu and Buddhist codes of law and morality modesty

of dress in women is everywhere insisted upon as a matter of paramount importance. In the ancient code of laws by Sankha there is an ordinance which says, "Let no woman go out of the house without permission, nor without a sheet over her dress, nor should she be allowed to run or walk very fast, nor speak with male strangers, unless they be tradesmen, hermits, old people or medical practitioners, nor allow her never to be seen she should be so dressed that her clothing should hang down to her ankles; and her breasts should never be exposed." Manu even goes to the extent of prohibiting husbands from looking at their wives when engaged in the mysteries of toilet and of denouncing the sight of nude females as sinful.

The veil, as a mark of propriety and respect before elders and strangers, is everywhere insisted upon. Even for men is a single garment forbidden. In the *Samayacharika Dharma Sutra* of Apastamba, even a Brahmachari just returned from his novitiate is enjoined to wear a *jama* and to move about with either shoes or pattens on. The greatest insult was offered to Draupadi when she was ordered to undress in the presence of strangers. Even woodland maidens did not go about uncovered. Shakuntala complains that her bodice is too tightly tied upon her chest, whereupon the king remarks:

"This youthful form whose bosoms swelling, charms,
By the bark's knotted tissue are concealed;
Like some fair bud close folded in its sheath;
Gives not to view the blooming of its beauty."

In the original Sanskrit the mode of tying the bodice by a tape behind the neck is clearly indicated.

So it would seem that the sculptures are not really representative of the prevailing fashions in dress, but are merely an indication of the age-old attraction of the artist for the nude. If the sculptures are to be accepted without question the whole of the records must be rejected and we must believe that kings went about with their bodies exposed while priests were covered up to the neck; that Siddharta gave up the loin-cloth for something which covered him from neck to ankle. The serving men and women (*Dasyus*) are everywhere represented as being poor and degraded, but are invariably decently dressed while the proud Aryan women though richly jewelled are devoid of all clothing. In Egypt also the bas-reliefs show kings and nobles and gods and goddesses as scantily clad, while attendants and priests are sumptuously dressed. We cannot infer from this that the Egyptians as a race were scantily clad. In India, where the manufacture of cloth was a very important industry and where enough was produced for export, it is scarcely likely that kings and nobles would go about bare, spurning the greatest of luxuries—good clothes—while indulging in all the rest.

There is little reason to believe that fundamentally garments had undergone much change for some centuries before the birth of Christ. From the Upanishads, the date of which is put by Radhakrishna at between 800 to 600 B. C. and A. D. 200 and by Tilak and Jacobi at 1600 B.C., we get an idea of the dress affected by most people: two pieces were worn, the *uttariya* or upper garment and the other the *antariya* or lower garment. This constituted the dress of both males and females. If a person could afford only one garment, then a part of the lower garment was drawn over the shoulders (as in modern U.P. or Bengal). In the case of a student the skin of a deer or goat made a very sacred upper garment that reached down to the ankles. A longish piece of cloth wrapped round the head, in the fashion prescribed by local custom, constituted the ceremonial head dress or turban. The *aprapadina* mentioned by Panini was a garment that reached down to the ankles. Woollen blankets were also in use. In the list of garments prescribed for the *upanita* (the initiated boy) cotton, woollen, linen, silk and hempen cloth are mentioned. Upper garments were dyed with the juice of lodhra flowers or with madder or indigo. That black clothes were

worn is established by the fact that they were forbidden to one practising the Sakvara vow. The colour scheme prescribed for the *upanita* is interesting, reddish yellow, light red, and yellow for the Brahmans, Vaisyas and Sudras respectively. The art of washing was, of course, known though a particular sanctity attached to a brand-new garment. A couple of garments, a turban, earrings, shoes, a bamboo staff and an umbrella completed the full dress. The *danda* (staff) was not only a weapon of defence in the ordinary sense, but also a magic wand for warding off evil.

[In Kalidas (C.500 A.D.) we have references to various kinds of dresses for men and women and suitable for all weathers and occasions. We read of hunting dresses and dresses worn by repentant and love-sick persons, by abhisarikas and by those observing a vow. It was possible to know the status of a person by the dress he wore. People were particular about their clothes and dressed in white or different colours. Cloth was also made in various patterns suited to both hot and cold weather. We find mention of both silk (*kauseyaka*) and wool (*patrona*). Silk was woven with fine patterns of flamingoes, and one of its kind, *Cinamsuka*, came from China as the etymology of the phrase suggests. There were patterns of cloth made of such thin texture as could easily be blown away by a breath. Perhaps the reference is to the famous Indian muslin. Gems were woven into the cloth to keep the body cool in summer while in winter heavier apparel of wool or silk and wool combined was a great favourite. It is no wonder that the luxury-loving Indian of the time did not like to soil his costly robe of the day by sleeping in it, and so we naturally find an allusion distinctive of attire for both night and day.

It appears that different wedding dresses prevailed in different parts of India. In the *Malavikagnimitra*, the Parivrajika is requested to display on Malavika's person the wedding dress which prevailed in the Vidarbha country. Consequently, the bride appeared in her 'marital costume', clothed in a silk garment not much hanging down and wearing beautiful ornaments. The ordinary wedding dress seems to have been a pair of silk robes in which were woven forms of swans, serving for the upper and lower garments of the bride and groom.

[The articles of dress worn by men were generally three in number. The head was covered by a turban (*vestana*), and two pieces of cloth (*dukulayugmam*), the upper and lower garments, formed their dress. People favoured by fortune used scarves with gems woven into them (*ratnodgrathi tottariyam*). Fine specimens of these forms of dress may be seen in the sculptures of Barhut, Sanchi and Muttra (Mathura). Innumerable figures, particularly that of *Srigirsi* of the Muttra Museum, wore turbans in which gems were scattered or set. Some fine exhibits may also be seen of the upper garment which was so important that no male figure is without it. This, however, is not true of the painted figures at Ajanta. The bride's dress is illustrated in a picturesque style in the dress of Kumari riding a peacock, preserved in the Muttra Museum.

The word '*amsuka*' has been used to signify women's costume. Although the word signifies any kind of cloth, yet all references to the word have been invariably made in connection with women's apparel. A bodice (*kurpasaka*) was worn as is found displayed on a few figurines in the Muttra Museum. It has been generally referred to by the word *stanamsuka*. This indicates that the bodice did not cover the entire torso but only the breasts and was held in place by bands. We are not sure what the lower garment was but from the use of the word *nivi* and *nivi-bandha*, we can infer that it hung low to the ankles and was held up by the front folds tied into a knot. There is no reference to the wearing of a lower garment in the style of modern saree, although the *Kambojika* of the Muttra Museum wears a saree in a perfectly modern manner, which indicates the prevalence of the style even at that period. Lastly, there was a long shawl which covered women from head to foot, serving even for a veil. The newly married wife (*navabadhu*) wore a red bodice.

The *Yavanas* or Greek attendants of the king, while hunting were at once marked out by their distinctive attire. We have no detailed mention of the articles of their attire except that they moved about with a bow, wearing many garlands, and surrounded the king. In the famous so-called Bacchanalian group of the Muttra Museum the clothes of Greek women may be seen. They wear a long-sleeved jacket with a skirt falling down to the feet which are shod with shoes. A fillet holds the hair in place. A perfect specimen of a *yavani* is instanced in a figure carved on a railing pillar with sword in hand wearing bobbed hair.

Ascetics wore saffron-coloured clothes generally made of bark. Girls in hermitages also wore bark dresses. Although no distinction between male and female dress is specified we can conclude that there must have been a difference. Shakuntala wears a bark dress with a knot on the shoulder. It is not specified whether the knot was on one shoulder only or on both.

Robbers living in forests and representing wild tribes, perhaps the aborigines, covered their chests with quiver-straps and wore plumes of peacock feathers that hung down to their ears.

A Gupta epigraph recorded on behalf of the guild of silk weavers that built the Sun Temple implies a beautiful advertisement. It reads: "(Just as) a woman, though endowed with youth and beauty (and) adorned with the arrangement of golden necklaces and betel leaves and flowers, goes not to meet (her) lover in a secret place, until she has put on a pair of coloured silken cloths, (so) the whole of this region of the earth, is adorned through them as if with a silken garment, agreeable to the touch, variegated with the arrangement of different colours, (and) pleasing to the eyes."

{ An eye-witness account of the dress of the 7th century A.D. was given by Hieun Tsiang, the Chinese traveller who came and stayed in the country for a number of years. "Their clothing is not cut or fashioned; they mostly affect fresh-white garments; they esteem little those of mixed colour or ornamented. The men wind their garments round their middle, then gather them under the armpits, and let them fall down across the body, hanging to the right. The robes of the women fall to the ground; they completely cover their shoulders. They wear a little knot on their crowns and let the rest of their hair hang from their heads. The people wear caps with flower wreaths and jewelled necklets. Their garments are made of Kiau-she-ye and of cotton. Kiau-she-ye is the product of the wild silk-worm. They have garments also of T'so-mo (*kshauma*) which is a sort of hemp garment made of kien-po-lo (*kambala*) which is woven from fine goat hair; garments also made from Ao-la-li (*karala*). . . . This stuff is made from the fine hair of a wild animal; it is seldom this can be woven and, therefore, the stuff is very valuable and it is regarded as fine clothing.

"In north India where the air is cold they wear short and close fitting garments. The dress and ornaments worn by non-believers are varied and mixed. Some wear peacock's feathers; some wear ornaments made of skull bones. . . . The costume is not uniform, and the colour, whether red or white, not constant.

"The Shamans (*sramanas*) have only three kinds of robes, viz., the sang-kio-ki, the ni-fo-si-na. The cut of the three robes is not the same but depends on the school. Some have wide or narrow borders, others have small or large flaps. The sang-kio-ki covers the left shoulder and conceals the two armpits. It is worn open on the left and closed on the right. It is cut longer than the waist. The ni-fo-si-na has neither girdle nor tassels. When putting it on, it is plaited in folds and worn round the loins with a cord fastening. The schools differ as to the colour of this garment; both yellow and red are used. The Kshattriyas and Brahmins are clean and wholesome in their dress, and they live in a homely and frugal way. The king of the country and the great ministers wear garments different

in their character. They use flowers for decorating their hair, with gem-decked caps; they ornament themselves with bracelets and necklaces.

"There are rich merchants who deal exclusively in gold trinkets and so on. They mostly go bare-footed; few wear sandals. They stain their teeth red or black; they bind their hair and pierce their ears; they ornament their noses and have large eyes. Such is their appearance."

From the account given by Hieun Tsiang of the habits of the people it appears that great emphasis was laid on personal cleanliness. Before and after eating the teeth were thoroughly cleaned and the hands carefully washed. After performing the functions of nature people washed themselves thoroughly and used perfumes of turmeric and sandalwood.

[No work on ancient Indian dress can be complete without some reference to the vast variety of coiffures that seem to have been the fashion. From the variety of waves and curls that one finds on sculpture heads, the conclusion that the art of curling the hair was well understood and widely practised is inevitable. The smooth hair pulled back into a bun, so frequently seen in recent years, does not seem to have satisfied the love of personal decoration in those times.

For men the fashion of smooth shaved cheeks seems to have been prevalent. Very few sculptures show beards or even moustaches. Men seem to have preferred shoulder length hair, sometimes gathered in a knot at the top of the head, while the fashion of shaved heads with a small tuft of hair seems to have been the hallmark of ascetics and the lower classes.

The art of washing clothes seems to have reached a high standard quite early. There were washermen at the time of the Vedas. In the Rigveda we are told that "the god Pushan weaves woollen clothes and washes them." Washermen used lye (*palpulana*) and the Pushan of the Vedas in later literature became the Sun which bleaches washed cloth. Manu tells us to clean taran and woollens with alkaline earth, Tibetan shawls (*kutapa*) with the fruit of Sapindus (*Arikta*), fine silk (*amsu-patta*) with the pulp of bael fruit (*Aegle marmelos*) and linen (*Kshauna*) with a ground paste of white colza seed (*S'veta sarshapa*, *Brassica campestris*, *sarson*). Similarly, looms, boxes and articles made of conch shells, are to be cleaned with the same paste or with urine of cattle diluted with water. Prof. Macdonnell suspects that the lye mentioned in the Atharvaveda was composed of urine. The Agni Purana (Chap. 156) also prescribes bael fruit for *amsu-patta* or fine silk and white colza seed for *kshauna* or linen. Silks dyed with safflower and dyed cotton and wool were to be merely rinsed in the river and spread out. The Markandeya Purana (Chap. 35) prescribes colza and sesame paste for woollens, ash of plants for cottons and alkaline earth for fibres. From all this it seems that the ancients were very careful indeed about their choice of detergent.

Kautilya prescribes fines if the washermen did not use smooth wooden boards or stone slabs, and if they sold, let out on hire, or changed the clothes of their employers. Clothes were stamped—those belonging to washermen with marks like a hammer. The washermen was a *nejaka* (washerman) first and *rajaka* (dyer) next. He had not only to clean but restore clothes to their original colour. Kautilya allowed five days for lightly dyed cloths, six days for those which were dyed blue, and seven days for those which were dyed with flowers like manjishtha (madder) and safflower. Reliable experts used to settle disputes regarding alleged loss of colour by washing, and settled the wages.

Dyeing of textiles was practised from Vedic times. Red, yellow, white and blue or black were the primary colours recognised. From the Arthashastra we learn that there were white, pure red, rose red and black woollens. Furs were mostly kept in their natural colours, but were sometimes ornamented. A fur is mentioned as having the colour of the

neck of a peacock. Red and yellow seem to have been regarded from earliest times as being auspicious colours.

Fabrics were also printed. Perhaps, the earliest reference to this is found in the word "Chitranta" in the *Āpastamba Srauta Sūtra* (XIX, 20). In the *Ramayana* there are numerous references to printed cloth. The ladies of Ravana wore garments of variegated hues (VI, 7); printed carpets (*kutha astarana*) were used as bed covers (II, 30) and printed blankets (II, 70) and printed dresses were distributed as gifts (VII, 113). The *Mahabharata* also refers to printed cloth. The usual word used for printed clothing is *Chitra vastra*.

The *dukula* mentioned by Kalidasa (Kumar 5, 67; Raghu 5, 17-25) had white impressions of swans evidently on a blue background to imitate the flight of birds in the sky. Probably the figures were sketched in with wax and then dyed in an indigo vat. The effect produced by complementary colours was fully appreciated. In *Gita-Govinda* (a Sanskrit lyric of the 12th century) we find Sri Krishna who was as dark as the atasi flower clad in a yellow *dukula*; while Radha, his fair lady love, is always described as clothed in a blue garment. Balarama, the brother of Krishna, was fair and he got the epithet of Nilambra (literally, wearing blue cloth) while Sri Krishna was called Pitambara (wearing yellow cloth).

Among the dyes used Kushumba (*Carthamus tinctorius*) headed the list. *Kaushambha* denoted a silk garment dyed with Kushumba. This was grown on royal farms and both the flowers and seeds (*Arthasastia*) were used. It may have become the dye *par excellence* for silk because it gave a brilliant orange colour, was fast and easy to apply. The name of the Lakhsha tree points to the use of the lac dye in Vedic times. The bark of the Lodhra tree (*Symplocos*) was used in the process of dyeing silk with lac, as is done even now. Tilvaka, one of the synonyms of Lodhra occurs in Vedic literature. This, together with manjishtha (*Rubia cordifolia*) is mentioned in the *Aitareya* (III, 2, 4) and *Sankhayana* (VII, 7) *Aranyakas*.

The *Amarakosha* mentions other red dyes. Kampilya, also spelt Kampilla, the Kamila powder (*Mallotus philippinensis*) used to dye silks and pattranga applied to the Red Sandal Wood (*Pterocarpus santalinus*). Among yellow dyes, patasa (*Butea frondosa*), Rajani which has not yet been identified and berberis (*Daruharidra*) were used. Nili, the indigo plant, was also cultivated and used as a dye.

From the *Amarakosha* and the *Smritis* we learn that artisans and artists belonged to the Sudra caste and Vaisyas traded in the manufactured articles. Manu (Chap. 10) does not permit the highest two castes, even when in straitened circumstances, to deal with cloths dyed with lac or indigo. They were regarded as unclean, the weaving operation requiring the use of starch and lac and indigo which involved some sort of putrefaction or fermentation for their extraction. The Brahmin householder wore only white clothes.

Dresses used to be wrinkled in the form of waves (*kuti-krita*) (*Mahabharata*, Sabha 50) and perfumed with an aromatic powder, *Churna*, (*Ramayana*, Lanka 75). Besides *churna*, dresses were perfumed by placing them in the smoke of burning incense. The use of perfumes for cloth dates back to Vedic times, e.g., the valuable perfume *Kustha* (*Saussurea lappa*) is frequently mentioned in the *Atharvaveda* and beside its use as an all-healing herb its aromatic properties were also known. It is known as choli-i-kut, the "wood of Kut," of which the word 'kut' is no other than the Sanskrit *Kustha*. *Nalada* or *nard* is mentioned in the *Atharvaveda* and has been a reputed perfume ever since. The saffron of Kashmir (*Kumkuma*) was prized not only as a dye but as a perfume. The word "ambara" ordinarily denotes cloth. In the *Amarakosha* it denotes sky and cloth, probably because the cloth indicated was blue or sky blue. Then the word acquired the sense of ambergris, as the latter was used to perfume *ambara*, a highly prized dress.

Varaha gives many recipes of "cloth powder" (*patavasa*). One consists of true cinnamon, cassia cinnamon (*patra*) and khus-khus with half their weight of true cardamoms made into powder. The scent is heightened by using musk and camphor and powdering again. The word 'adhivasa', which denoted a mantle in Vedic times, came to be also used in later literature in the sense of applying perfume. The duty of washermen was to perfume the washed clothing. The object was not only to remove the smell of washing and to give the clothes a pleasant odour, but also to protect the clothing from the attacks of insects. Distillation of aromatic substances to prepare 'atar' or scent was unknown, but there were scented oils, scented water for baths, scented unguents for use before and after the bath, scented clothing, and garlands of sweet-smelling flowers.

In a hot country the use of flowers, especially white ones, have been a great favourite through the ages.

In ancient India, great importance was attached to the status of craftsmen. In Asoka's days those who injured royal craftsmen were punished by death. Patronage was afforded to craftsmen. Craftsmanship, like learning, was protected and the craftsman held an assured and hereditary position. This is illustrated from an extract from a Silpashastra: "That any other than a silpin should build temples, towns, seaports, tanks or well is comparable to the sin of murder." We are told that honest and skilful craftsmen will be born in noble families while those who work amiss will fall into hell and shall return to future lives of poverty and hardship. Already in the time of Buddha the craftsmen were organised in guilds (*Srenis*), the number of which is often given as eighteen.

The impact of the Muslims on Indian culture was deeper and longer-lasting than had been the impact of any other people except the Aryans. They came to India first in sporadic raids and later as conquerors and settlers. Indian contact with the Arab traders had existed long before the advent of Islam, but this was limited mostly to the coast and had not touched the hinterland. But with conquest Islam became the dominant influence in most parts of the country.

Islam, the youngest of the great religions of the world, had no ancient culture of its own; but it affected the culture of every country to which it went, its own fusing with that of the middle East where it had its earliest success and which it claimed wholly. Muslim rulers usually proved themselves great patrons of art and nowhere has the blending between the Hindu and Muslim cultures been so happy as in India. The one great distinction between Hindu and Muslim art is not so much racial as social; the former being an art that belongs as much to the peasant as to the king while the latter is essentially an art of courts and connoisseurs, owing much to patronage.

One of the earliest accounts of Indian dress from the pen of a muslim comes from Alberuni, the great mathematician and scholar, who came to India with the early invaders. According to him, "They (the Hindus) use turbans for trousers. Those who want little dress are content to dress in a rag of two fingers' breadth, which they bind over their loin with two cords; but those who like much dress, wear trousers bined with so much cotton as would suffice to make a number of counterpanes and saddle-bags. These trousers have no (visible) openings, and they are so huge that the feet are not visible. The string by which the trousers are fastened is at the back.

"Their sidar (a piece of dress covering the head and upper part of the breast and neck) is similar to the trousers being also fastened at the back by buttons.

"The lappets of the kurtakas (short skirts from the shoulders to the middle of the body with sleeves, a female dress) have slashes both on the right and left sides.

"They keep the shoes tight till they begin to put them on. They are turned down from the calf before walking."

The scanty clothing of a people living in a hot climate apparently affected the man used to voluminous clothing rather adversely. From Alberuni's description it would appear that he did not form a very high opinion of the country and its inhabitants. The voluminous trousers to which he refers were in all probability the *ghagara* worn by the Rajasthan women. It is not surprising that the flimsy white "dhoti" of Hindu men would strike him as being a material more suited for a turban than trousers and since turbans were also worn of the same material, his inference that the turban was used for trousers seems quite natural. The description of the "sidar" seems ambiguous. If it referred to the "dupatta" worn by women to cover the head, the description is incorrect since that is just draped over the head and breast, but is never fastened with buttons. The shoes do not seem to be any that are typical of the country, but seem to refer to long boots which reached upto the calf. That may have been the fashion somewhere in the extreme north-west (a Bactrian influence, perhaps) but could not have been true of the whole country. Apparently, Alberuni was more interested in the science and philosophy of which he had heard

so much and which he had come to study at first hand, rather than in the dress of the Hindus, to which he pays scant attention and of which he has given such a sketchy description.

We can safely presume that the dress of the Indian at the time of the Muslim conquest was the same that has been described so fully by Kalidasa. The invaders themselves affected the dress of the Middle East, i.e., tight fitting trousers, a long coat fitting upto the waist and then flaring out in a full skirt with tight sleeves. They wore a closely-tied turban on the head. The dress of the women was the same as appears in the pictures of Persian and early Indian Muslim princesses. For early Muslim Indian dress we may refer to Al Qalqshandi in whose *Subh-ul-A'sha* a few chapters are devoted to India, one of which deals with the dress of the people. "The dress of the soldiers including Sultans, Khans, Maliks and other officers are given on the authority of Sheikh Mubarak-ul-Anbati as, "Tartaric gowns (Tatoriyat), Jakalwat and Islamic qabias of khwarizm buckled in the middle of the body and short turbans which do not exceed five or six forearms (dira). Their dress of Bayd and Jukh." We are further told :

"It is related on the authority of Ash-Sharif Nasir-al-Din Muhammad Al-Husayni Al-Adami that their usual dress is gold embroidered Tartaric gowns : Some of them wear gold embroidered sleeves and the others put embroidery between their shoulders like the Mughals. Their head-dress is four-cornered in shape, ornamented with jewels and mostly with diamonds and rubies. They plait their hair in hanging locks as it used to be done in the beginning of the Turkish Rule in Egypt and Syria except that they put silk tassels in the locks. They bind gold and silver belts tightly round their waists, and wear shoes and spurs and do not girt the swords round their waists except when on journey.

"The dress of the Vazirs and Katibs is like that of the soldiers except that they have no belts. But sometimes they let down a piece of cloth in front of them as sufis do.

"The Judges and learned men (Ulama) wear ample gowns (farajiiyyat) that resemble Janadiyat and Arabic garments (durra).

"It is related on the authority of Qadi Siraj-al-Din al-Hindi that none among them wears cotton clothes imported from Russia and Alexandria except he whom Sultan clothes with it. Their dress is made of fine cotton which resembles the Baghdadi one in beauty."

From the above description the costume of the ruling classes would seem to be quite different from the dress of the Indians themselves. In the illustrated manuscripts of the *Kalakacharya Kathatha*, exact shapes of these garments are preserved. In a miniature from the *Kalakacharya Katha*, dated A.D. 1458, the Turkish costume is shown to consist of a full long-sleeved Tartaric gown, half-sleeved *qaba*, full boots and a pointed cap. This dress bears a resemblance to the dress worn in the 15th century by Mughals from Herat, the only difference being that while the Mughals of Herat wore turbans, the Indian Turks wore pointed caps.

The king wore a cape attached to the *qaba*. The *qaba* was replaced on the battlefield by a *jainah* reaching a little above the ankles. There was also a *kamarband*.

The caps worn were of many shapes, pointed with a boss at the tip, conical with broad, upturned brim, triangular or four pointed. Sometimes it was dome-shaped with seams visible in the middle.

During the early period of struggle and adjustment each clung to his own dress and it was only as the rule became settled that trousers, the dress of the rulers, came to be adopted by those craving favour at court. Certain other influences also crept, perforce, into the dress of courtiers while the dress of the rulers also became modified not so much in style as in quality and decoration.

The new invaders were dazzled by the high state of civilisation and the plenty which met their eyes. They strove to reach a higher state of perfection in the crafts and afforded the workmen great patronage. The inevitable Persian influence brought in by noblemen and imported craftsmen blended subtly with the existing patterns and it was during the comparative peace and stability of the Mughal period, which was one of the golden periods of Indian history, that the intermingling of the two cultures produced the finest results. It was this period which produced all the arts and crafts of which the country finds itself boasting so proudly today.

There are numerous eye-witness accounts of this period written by European visitors. We have the account of Sir Thomas Roe, the ambassador of King James I at the Court of Jahangir. Speaking of the king's costume at the time of his departure for Ajmer, he says that the King's coat was made of cloth of gold without sleeves upon a semian as thin as lawn. There seems to be some mistake here as "semians" were coarse calicoes used chiefly for awnings (hence, probably, the name from Persian "Shamiana," a canopy). Perhaps, Roe meant the stuff called Sinabaff, "a fine, slight stuff or cloth whereof the Moors make their cabayes or clothing." The emperor's gloves which were English were stuck under his girdle; on his feet were a pair of embroidered buck-skin shoes with pearls, the toes sharp and turned up. In the procession came palanquins covered with velvet and embroidered with pearls. There were elephants with cloth of silver, gilt satin and taffeta. They were so rich in stones and furniture that they "braved the sun."

Jahangir asked Roe to get him a pair of boots embroidered in England since the quality of work done there was better than that done in India. Writing home about the commodities to be sent to India, Sir Thomas Roe mentions that the king had made many enquiries about gold lace and that it would fetch a profit of 30 per cent. Among other things are mentioned satins and cloth of gold and silver which might sell in India, but would raise no great profits. Light arrow-proof men's shirts, neatly made, were required. So also were embroidered coats of Indian fashion since English fashions did not catch on. Roe sent some patterns to be made up for the king. He recommends the sending of light-coloured flowered Norwich stuffs, the lighter the better. If properly chosen he thought they might sell well.

Another description is given by the French traveller François Bernier. "The king (Jahangir) appeared seated upon his throne, at the end of the great Hall, in the most magnificent attire. His vest was of white and delicately flowered satin, with a silk and gold embroidery of the finest texture. The turban, of gold cloth, had an aigrette whose base was composed of diamonds of an extraordinary size and value, besides an Oriental topaz which may be pronounced unparalleled, exhibiting a lustre like the sun.... At the foot of the throne were assembled all the Ohirahs, in splendid apparel upon a platform surrounded by a silver railing and covered by a canopy of brocade with deep fringes of gold. The pillars of the hall were hung with brocades of a gold ground and flowered satin canopies were raised over the whole expanse of the extensive apartment fastened with red silken cords, from which were suspended large tassels of silk and gold. The floor was covered with carpets of the richest silk, of immense length and breadth.

"It is thought that the principal inducement with the king for the extraordinary magnificence displayed on this occasion was to afford to the merchants an opportunity of disposing of the quantities of brocades which the war had for 4 or 5 years prevented from selling. The expense incurred by the Ohirahs was considerable; but a portion of it fell ultimately on the common troopers; whom the Omrahs obliged to purchase the brocades to be made up into vests."

Apparently all the rich stuffs displayed here were more for purposes of salesmanship than for mere show. It appears to have been the custom of the kings to gently coerce their nobles into patronising the merchants at times when trade was generally slack.

Bernier relates that Jahangir ordered European clothes to be made for himself and all his courtiers, but when they were tried on the effect was so appalling that he passed the whole thing off as a joke. He also mentions the fact that because of the intense heat no Indian, not even the king, ever wore stockings nor did they wear closed shoes, only babouches or slippers.

He describes the workshops which, according to him, were called Karkanyas. In one hall embroiderers are busily employed superintended by a master. In another you see the goldsmiths; in a third, painters; in a fourth varnishers in lacquered work; in a fifth joiners, turners, tailors and shoe-makers; in a sixth, manufacturers of silk, brocade and those fine muslins of which are made turbans, girdles with golden flowers and drawers worn by females, so delicately fine as frequently to wear out in one night. This article of dress which lasts only a few hours may cost ten or twelve crowns, and even more, when beautifully embroidered with needle work.

"The artisans repair every morning to their respective karkanyas, where they remain employed the whole day; and in the evening return to their homes. In this quiet and regular manner their time glides away; no one aspiring after any improvement in the condition of life wherein he happens to be born.... No one marries but in his own trade or profession; and this custom is observed almost as rigidly by the Mahometans as by gentiles, to which it is expressly enjoined by their law."

The last sentence is noteworthy for the almost complete cultural assimilation of the Muslims by the Hindus. The artisan class, even after conversion to the new faith, maintained all the taboos and rites of Hinduism while the higher classes absorbed so much the influence of Hinduism that it was hardly possible to say where Islam ended and Hinduism began.

We have a description of the reception of the Portuguese Vasco-da-Gama, by the Zamorin in 1498. The Zamorin was dressed in a robe of fine white muslin and a silk turban, both splendidly embroidered with gold. His arms and legs were without clothing but were ornamented with a great number of costly bracelets. When the visitors drew near he lifted his head from an embroidered cushion and signalled the visitor to sit down. Here the robe described may have been a short 'dhoti' and a jacket which blended at the waist, giving the illusion of a single garment.

Up to the time of Akbar, Persian dress was worn by Muslims but during Akbar's time Rajput dress was adopted. The Mughal turban differs from the contemporary Bakhara type in not having loose fringed ends sticking out on both sides. The Indian coat or *angarkha*, fastened at the side as in China, was different from the Persian gown that buttoned down the front and fitted closely to the form. It may have been at this time that the veil, the 'dupatta' of the Rajput women, superseded the women's turban in the zenanas of the king and nobles and since then the skirt, bodice and veil of Rajasthan may have prevailed in the harems of the 17th century with constant changes of fashion in respect of detail.

Abul Fazl, Akbar's friend and historian, gives a detailed account of the storing, manufacture and styles of dress. According to the *Ain-i-Akbari*, Akbar took great interest in the conditions of work and produce of the workmen. Skilful masters and workmen were brought in from other countries to teach the native craftsmen an improved system of manufacture. According to this historian, "His Majesty pays much attention to various stuffs; hence Irani, European, and Mongolian articles of wear are in abundance. Skilful masters and workmen have settled in this country, to teach people an improved system of manufacture. The Imperial workshops, the towns of Lahore, Agra, Fatehpur, Ahmedabad, Gujarat, turn out many masterpieces of workmanship; and the figures and patterns, knots, variety of fashion which now prevail, astonish experienced

travellers. His Majesty himself acquired in a short time a theoretical and practical knowledge of the whole trade, and on account of the care bestowed upon them, the intelligent workmen of this country soon improved. All kinds of hair-weaving and silk-spinning were brought to perfection; and the imperial workshops furnish all those stuffs which are made in other countries. A taste for fine material has since become general, and the drapery used at feasts surpasses every description.

"All articles which have been bought, or woven to order, or received as tribute or presents, are carefully preserved; and according to the order in which they were preserved, they are again taken out for inspection, or given out to be cut and to be made up, or given away as presents. Articles which arrive at the same time, are arranged according to their prices. Experienced people inquire continually into the pieces of articles used both formerly and at present, as a knowledge of the exact prices is conducive to the increase of the stock. Even the prices became generally lower. Thus a piece woven by the famous Ghias-i-Nasqshband may now be obtained for fifty muhars, whilst it had formerly been sold twice that sum; and most other articles have got cheaper at the rate of thirty to ten, or even forty to ten. His Majesty also ordered that people of certain ranks should wear certain articles; and this was done in order to regulate the demand.

"I shall not say much on this subject, though a few particulars regarding the articles worn by His Majesty may be of interest.

"1. The Takauchiyah is a coat without lining, of the Indian form. Formerly it had slits in the skirt, and was tied on the left side; His Majesty has ordered it to be made with a round skirt, and to be tied on the right side. It requires seven yards and seven girihs, and five girihs for the binding. The price for making a plain one varies from one rupee to three rupees; but if the coat be adorned with ornamental stitching, from one to four and three quarters rupees. Besides a misqal of silk is required.

"2. The Peshwaz (a coat open in front) is of the same form, but ties in front. It is sometimes made without strings.

"3. The Dutahi (a coat with lining) requires six yards and four girihs for the outside, six yards lining, four girihs for the binding, nine girihs for the border. The price of making one varies from one to three rupees. One misqal of silk is required.

"4. The Shah-a-jidah (or the royal stitch coat) is also called Shactkhat (or sixty rows), as it has sixty ornamental stitches per girihi. It has generally a double lining, and is sometimes wadded and quilted. The cost of making is two rupees per yard.

"5. The Sozani requires a quarter of a ser of cotton and two dams of silk. If sewed with bakhyah stitches the prices of making one is eight rupees; one with adidah stitches costs four rupees.

"6. The Qalami requires $3/8$ s cotton, and one dam silk. Cost of making two rupees.

"7. The Qaba, which is at present generally called jamahi-pumbah-dar, is a wadded coat. It requires 1s. of cotton, and 2m. silk. Price, one rupee to a quarter rupee.

"8. The Gadar is a coat wider and longer than it takes the place of a fur-coat. It requires seven yards of stuff, six yards of lining, four girihs binding, nine for bordering, $2\frac{1}{2}$ s cotton, 3m. silk. Price, from one-half to one and one-half rupees.

"9. The Farji has no bind, and is open in front. Some put buttons to it. It is worn over the jamah (coat), and requires 5y. 12g. stuff; 5y. 5g. lining; 14g. bordering; 1s. cotton; 1m. silk. Price, from a quarter to one rupee.

"10. The Fargul resembles the yapanji, but is more comfortable and becoming. It was brought from Europe; but every one now-a-days wears it. They make it of various stuffs. It requires 9y. $6\frac{1}{2}$ g. stuff, the same quantity of lining, 6m. silk, 1s. cotton. It is made both single and double. Price, from $\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 R.

"11. The Chakman is made of broadcloth, or woollen stuff, or wax cloth. His Majesty has it made of Darai wax cloth, which is very light and pretty. The rain cannot go through it. It requires 6y. stuff, 5g. binding, and 2m. silk. The price of making one of broadcloth is 2R; of wool, 1½R; of wax cloth, ½ R.

"12. The Shalwar (drawers) is made of all kinds of stuff, single and double, and wadded. It requires 3y. 11g. cloth, 6g. for the hem through which the string runs, 3y. 5g. lining, 1¼m. silk, ½s. cotton. Price, from ¼ to ½ R.

"There are various kinds of each of these garments. It would take me too long to describe the chirahs, fauthas, and dupattahs, or the costly dresses worn at feasts or presented to the grandees of the present time. Every season, there are made one thousand complete suits for the imperial wardrobe, and one hundred and twenty, made up in twelve bundles, are always kept in readiness. From his indifference to every thing that is worldly, His Majesty prefers and wears woollen stuffs, especially shawls; and I must mention, as a most curious sign of auspiciousness, that His Majesty's clothes becomingly fit every one whether he be tall or short, a fact which has hitherto puzzled many.

"His Majesty has changed the names of several garments, and invented new and pleasing terms. Instead of jamah (coat) he says yarpirahan (the companion of the coat); for nimtanah (a jacket), tanzeb; for fautah, patgat; for burqu (a veil), chitragupita; for kulah (a cap), sis sobha; for muibaf (a hair ribbon), kesg' han; for patka (a cloth for the loins), katzeb; for shal (shawl), parmnaram; for kapurdhur, a Tibetan stuff, kapurnur; for paiafzar (shoes), charndharn; and similarly for other names."

Akbar affected changes of fashion by ordering court dress to be made with a round skirt and to be tied on the right side. He also introduced the fashion of wearing the shawl doubled (*doshalla*). Akbarnama paintings of the last decade of the 16th century show that the dress consisted of a knee-length coat with a full skirt, falling in four points. In Shah Jehan's reign (1626-1658), the dress was lengthened, and later in the 18th century the skirt became full and was gathered into a high waist almost under the armpits.

Throughout the Mughal period, one of the most fancied articles of costume was a girdle (*patka*) into which the ceremonial *daggla* or sword was slipped. These were embroidered or brocaded, painted in dye colours with a skilful use of wax-resist and various mordants. Sometimes embroidery was combined with hand painting. Usually, however, they were painted with a few simple colours, the field being plain and the end borders containing rows of elongated floral sprays or cypresses. Golconda was the main centre specialising in the making of *pathas*.

Both Akbar and Jahangir evinced great interest in the skill of craftsmen. Nur Jehan, the glamorous and talented wife of the latter, shared this enthusiasm and is said to have evolved many new patterns. She is famous as the inventor of the *farsh-e-chandni* (spreading of snow white sheets instead of carpets in a room.) It is said that she also invented a brocade, the pattern of which would not take long to weave. This could be made so cheaply that a complete dress for both bride and groom would cost only Rupees 100. This must have proved a welcome relief to many families of average income on whose budget the marriage expenditure must have imposed a certain amount of strain.

Under the Mughal patronage the textiles industry blossomed and till the end of the 18th century India could be described as one of the workshops of the world. This is amply borne out by the accounts of numerous chroniclers, merchants and European travellers. Though the handicrafts were numerous in number and kind, the pride of place must be given to textiles. Radha Kamal Mukerji states that some two hundred distinct items of cloth goods are mentioned as export specialities of different ports of India. These were of various shapes, patterns and colours and catered to the peculiar tastes or fashions of

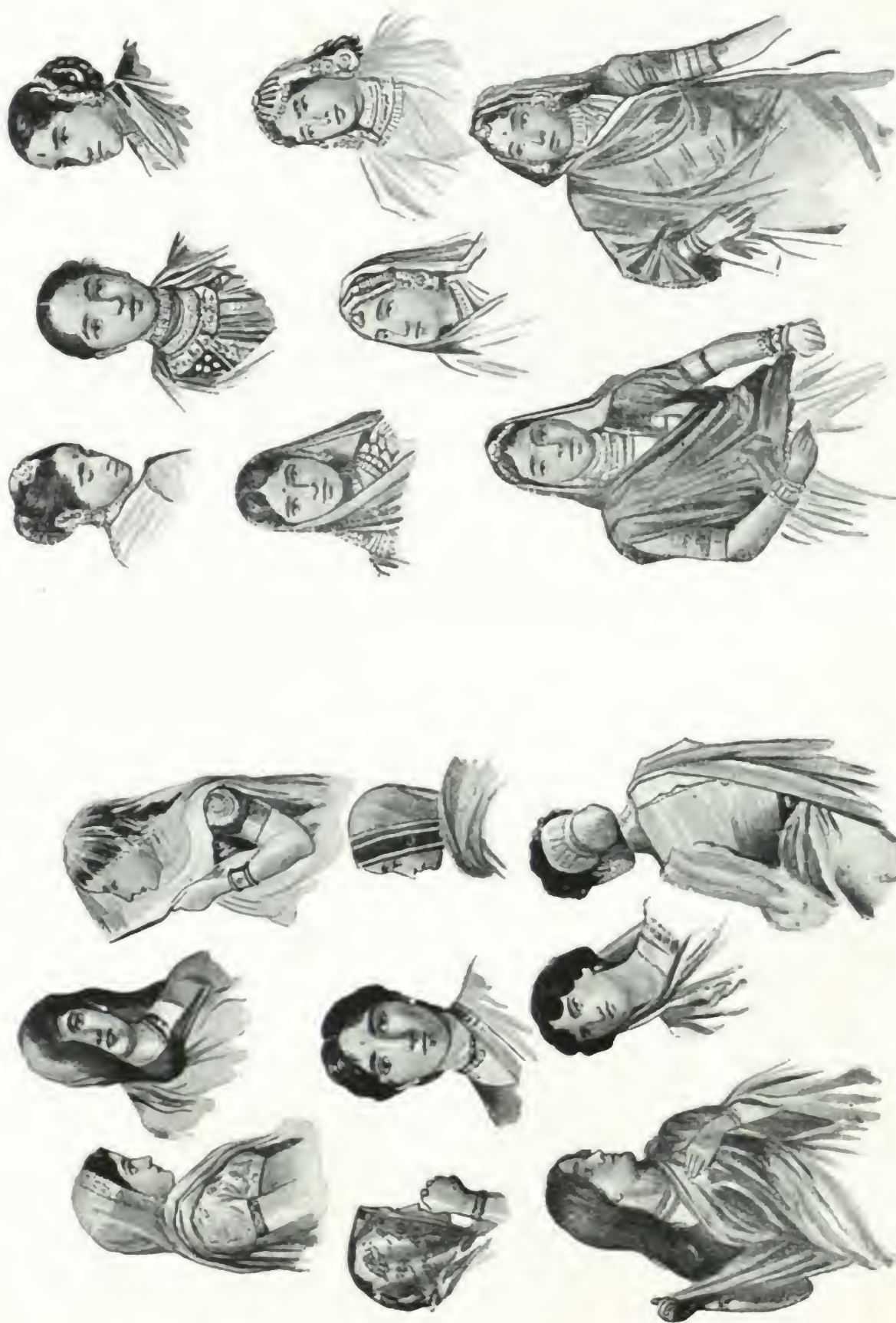


A DANCER FROM HYDERABAD



DANCE COSTUME

(Photos : Darshan Lal)



SKETCHES OF WOMEN OF INDIA OF YESTERDAY AND TODAY



TURBANS AND HEAD-GEAR OF INDIA OF YESTERDAY AND TODAY



MUSLIM FEMALE WEAVER

(From Water-Colour Paintings by M. V. Dhurandhar)



MUSLIM LADY OF NORTHERN INDIA



WOMAN OF CAMBAY

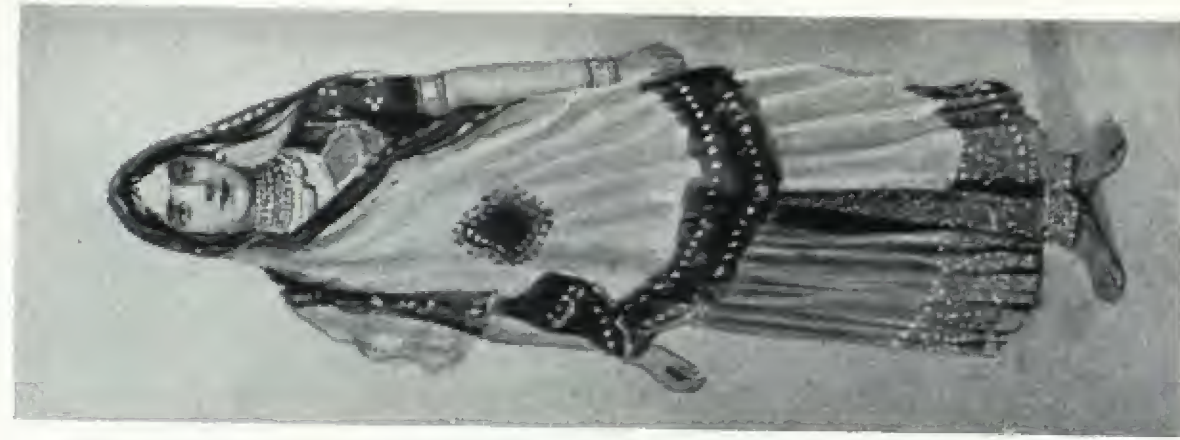


RAJPUT LADY FROM KUTCH

(From Water-Colour Paintings by M. V. Dhurandhar)



A NAGAR BEAUTY



WOMAN OF JODHPUR



WOMAN OF UTTAR PRADESH



TODA WOMAN OF THE NILGIRIS

(From Water-Colour Paintings of M. V. Dhurandhar)



BANJARA GIPSY WOMAN



MAHARASHTRIAN LADY



BHATIA LADY

(From Water Colour Paintings of M. V. Datarandhar)



MEMON LADY



A GLIMPSE AT A DOOR IN GUJARAT



MUSLIM ARTISAN WOMAN of Kathiawad



A MILL-HAND

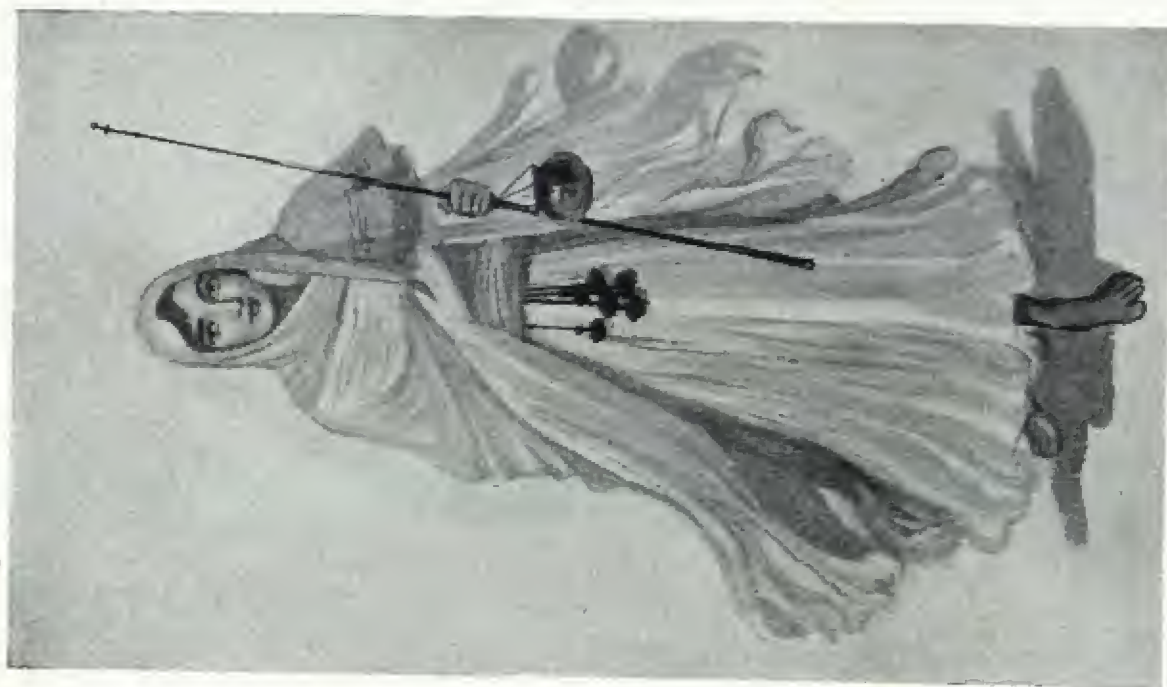


MAHAR WOMAN

(From Water-Colour Paintings of M. V. Dhurandhar)



BRAHMIN LADY GOING TO THE TEMPLE



JAIN NUN

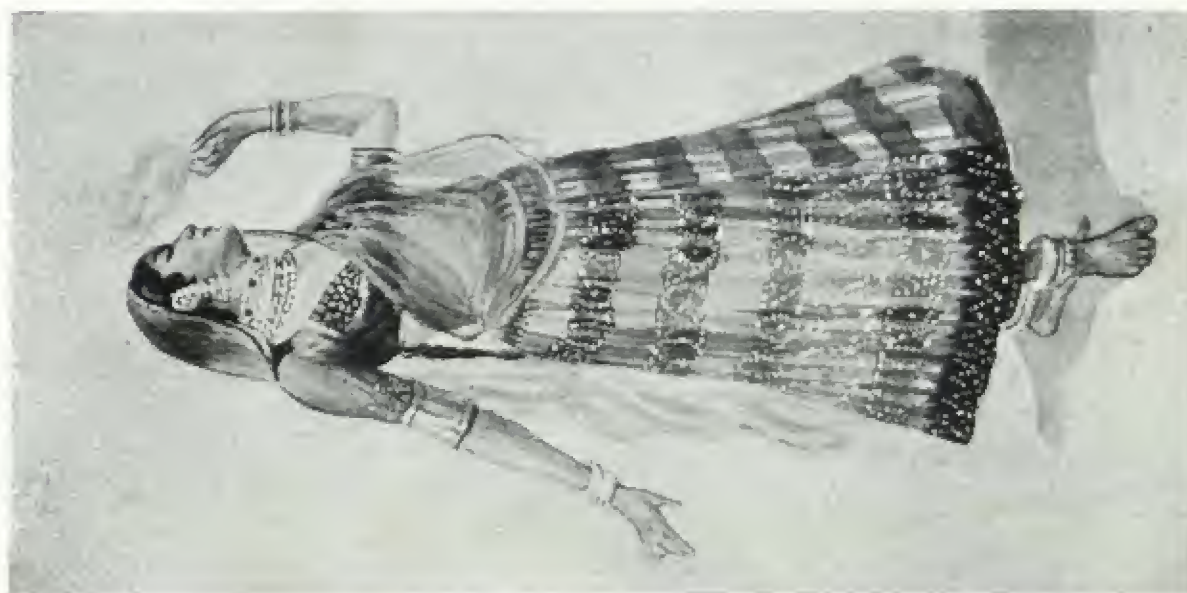
(From Water Colour Paintings of M. V. Dhurandhar)



WIDOW IN THE DECCAN



LADY FROM MYSORE



RAJPUT GIRL

(From Water-Colour Paintings of M. V. Dhurandhar)



BENGALI LADY



GOND WOMAN



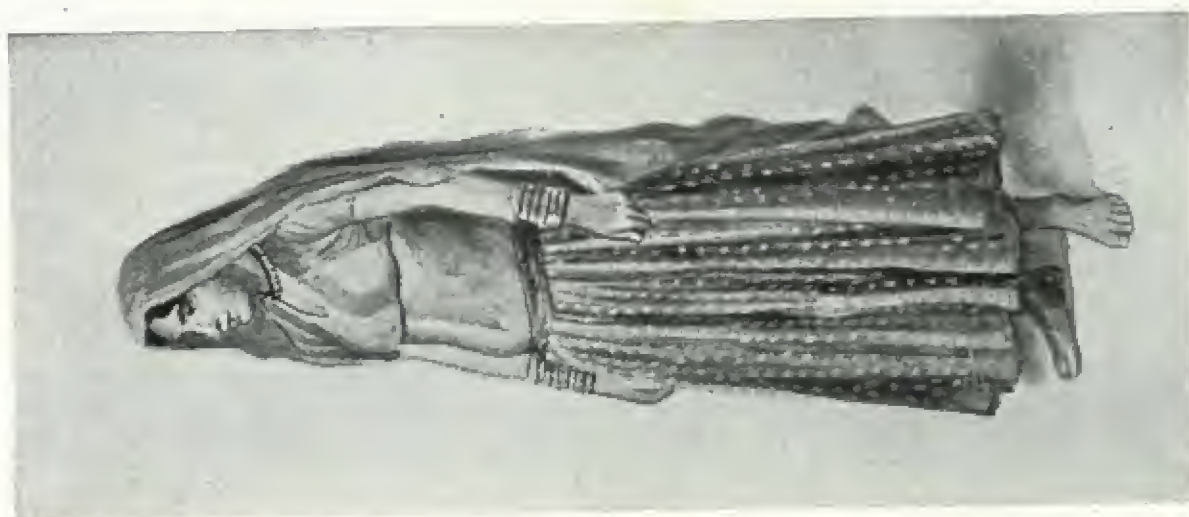
NAIR WOMAN
(From Water-Colour Paintings of M. V. Dhurandhar)



WOMAN OF THE WESTERN GHATS
(From Water-Colour Paintings of M. V. Dhurandhar)



BHIL GIRL



WORKING WOMAN OF AJMER



FISHWIFE OF BOMBAY

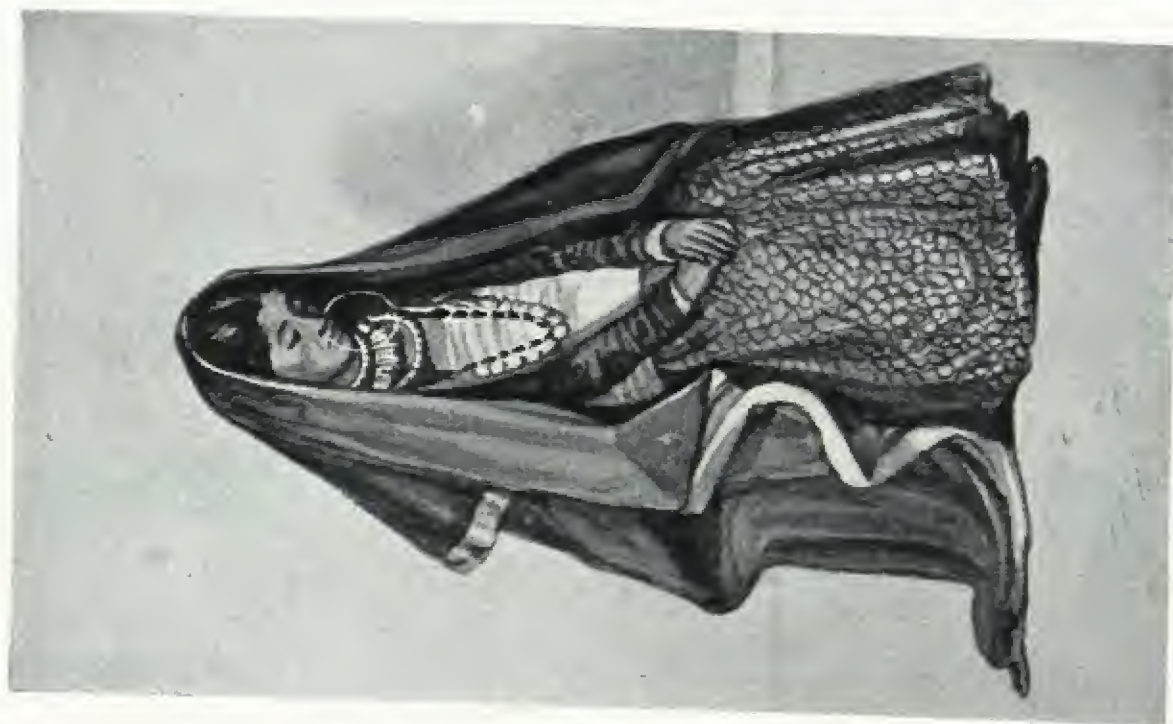
(From Water-Colour Paintings of M. V. Dhurandhar)



FISHERWOMAN OF SIND



WATER-CARRIER OF AHMEDABAD



GURKHA WOMAN

(From Water-Colour Paintings of M. V. Dhurandhar)



THE MILKMAID



BORAH LADY FROM SURAT



PATHARE PRABHU

(From Water-Colour Paintings of M. V. Dhurandhar)



KHOJA LADY OF BOMBAY



WOMAN OF UTTAR PRADESH



LADY FROM NEWAR

(From Water-Colour Paintings by M. V. Dhurandhar)



DYER GIRL OF AHMEDABAD



SOUTH INDIAN FLOWER-SELLERS
(Photo: A. L. Syed)



NAYAR SUDRA GIRLS OF TRAVANCORE
(From *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Vol. XII)



DRESS OF THE BHARWAD CHILDREN FROM SAURASHTRA

(Photos: A. L. Syed)



KATHI MEN OF SAURASHTRA IN NATIVE COSTUME



SAURASHTRA WOMEN IN COSTUME OF THE REGION
(Photos : A. L. Syed)



FARMER GIRLS OF JUNAGADH
(Photos : A. L. Syed)



GIRLS FROM SAURASHTRA

(Photo : International News Photos)



WOMEN OF GUJARAT

(Photo : Dr. B. F. Ferreira)



KOLI FISHERWOMEN

(Photos : Dr. B. F. Ferreira)



A GIRL OF THE PUNJAB



PRINTED SARI AND EMBROIDERED SKIRT, IN
KATHIAWARI STYLE

(Photo : B. Bhansali)



BOMBAY EAST INDIAN KOLI BRIDE AND BRIDEGROOM

(Photo : Dr. E. F. Pereira)



COSTUME OF GIRLS OF THE KHOJA COMMUNITY

(Photo : Dr. B. F. Ferreira)

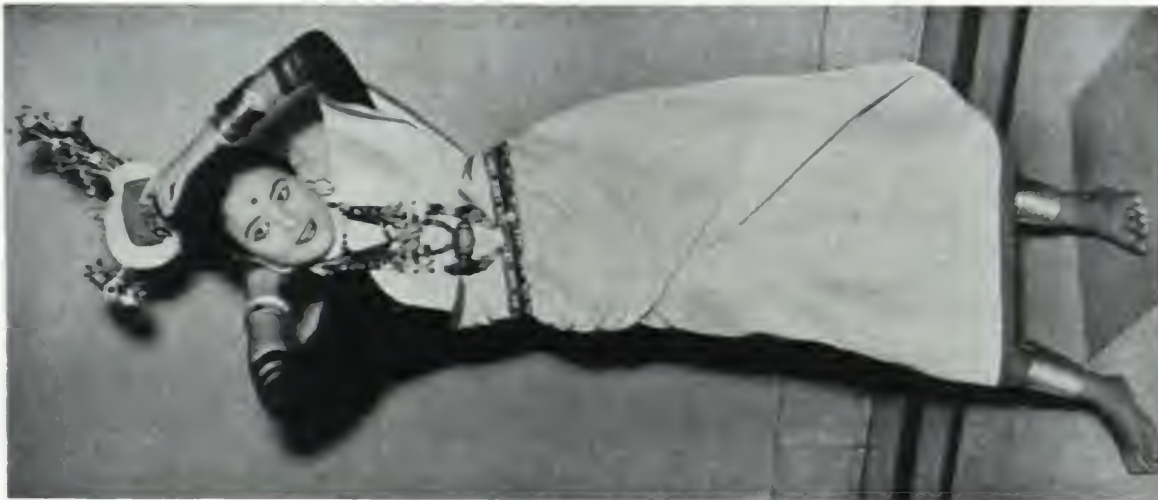


NOBLEMAN OF MEWAR IN TRADITIONAL COSTUME

(Photos : A. I. Syed)



DANCE COSTUME



ORIYA COSTUME
(Reproduced by Courtesy of The Government of India Tourist Information Office, Bombay. Photos by International News Photos)



A MARWARI BELLE



A PUNJABI BRIDE



BRIDE FROM SOUTH INDIA



KASHMIRI GIRL



A LADY OF COORG

Reproduced by Courtesy of The Government of India Tourist Information Office, Bombay. Photos by International News Photos



RAJASTHANI PEASANT WOMAN

(Reproduced by Courtesy of The Government of India Tourist Information Office, Bunkaya, Photos by Foto-Flash)



ORISSAN PEASANT COSTUME



MAHARASHTRIAN LADY

(Reproduced by Courtesy of The Government of India Tourist Information Office, Bombay. Photos by International News Photos)



KATHIAWAD PEASANT DRESS



BENGALI COSTUME

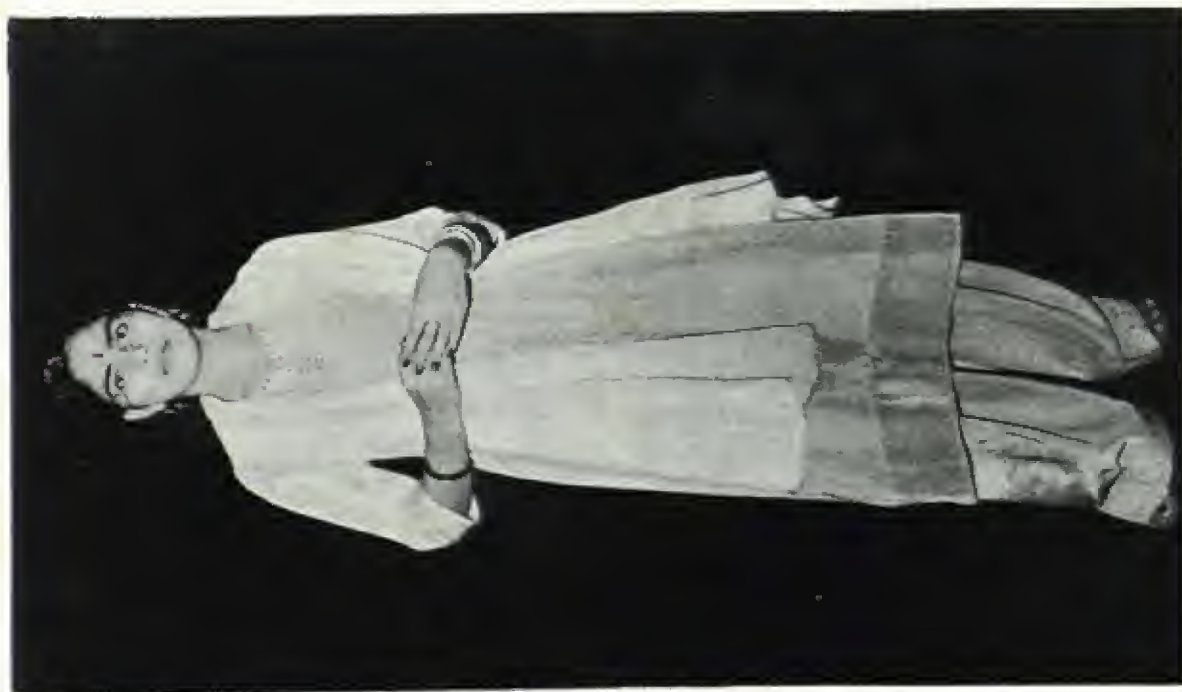


PUNJABI DRESS OF TODAY



MUSLIM COSTUME OF UTTAR PRADESH

(Photos : A. I. Syed)



GIRL IN PUNJABI DRESS



LADY IN SARI WORN IN THE MODERN STYLE

(Photos : Raj Bedi of Foto-Flash)



MANIPURI DANCERS IN TRADITIONAL COSTUMES

(Photo : Asad K. Syed)



VILLAGE WOMEN



A DANCER FROM THE NORTH

(Photos : Darshan Lath)

markets of the Far East, Africa, Western Asia and Europe. When the Dutch established factories at Masulipatam, Petapoli, Devenampatam, Tirupapuliur and other Coromandel ports, the export of Indian textiles for the Indian Archipelago was one of their chief activities and the requirements of the people of the Archipelago were carefully studied.

A list of goods exported to Europe by the French merchants in 1742 is given in Dodsley's *History of the East Indies*. A selection from this list given in Mukherji's *Economic History of India* shows the localities of production and the trade names of the products. According to this account the Coromandel coast produced guineas (longcloth) napkins, percales (high grade calico), betillers and organdies (white chintz), baffets and tonratenues (cloth used in the Archipelago). Bengal products included white garhas (coarse cloth), mulmuls (fine muslin), nayansukhs, docrease (striped muslin).

Silk weaving was a minor industry at the time of Akbar. It was carried on in a number of places but the output was small and it is possible that a substantial portion of the raw silk consumed in India was used for the production of the mixed goods which are still a feature of the handweaving industry. That Indian export in silk was very small is indicated by the silence of the men who wrote about trade at this period and who were careful to notice every article which seemed to be of interest to Europe, as silk certainly was. Barbosa, who gives more details regarding exports than any other writer, says that at the beginning of the 17th Century some silk goods went from Gujarat to the coast of East Africa and to Pegu, but he indicates no other market and the remaining authors with the exception of Verthema pass over the subject in silence. The latter assert that Gujarat supplied "all Persia, Tartary, Turkey, Syria, Barbary, Arabia, Ethiopia" and some other places "with silk and cotton stuffs," but it is difficult to rely on him completely since his book has certain traces of loose writing.

The home market was more important than the export trade since silk was used extensively by the upper classes and the fashion of the time prescribed an extensive wardrobe for anyone who wished to move in good society. Silk goods were also imported from the Far East, from Central Asia and Persia. Since the imported fabrics must have been more expensive than the indigenous stuff we may safely assume that they were greatly in demand with leaders of fashion. Barbosa tells us that some of the silk he saw in Vijayanagar came from China and Abul Fazl also mentions materials imported from various countries.

We can form an idea of the new material consumed in the industry from information preserved. Apart from a small quantity of fibre produced in Kashmir the main production was in Bengal. Tavernier obtained figures of the output in this region in the middle of the 17th Century when the Dutch had established themselves at Kasim Bazaar and had worked up a considerable export trade. At that period the total output was $2\frac{1}{2}$ million pounds, out of which one million pounds was worked up locally, $1\frac{1}{4}$ million was exported raw by the Dutch and $\frac{1}{4}$ million was distributed over India, most of it going to Gujarat, but some being taken by merchants from Central Asia. The Indian supply was supplemented by imports of which China was the most important source.

The silk weaving industry was localised. Contemporary writers speak chiefly of the fabrics of Gujarat, notably of Cambay, Ahmedabad and Pattan, while weaving was also carried on at Chaul, a few miles south of Bombay.

Apart from what was recognised as silk by travellers familiar with the material, Bengal produced at this period fabrics of some fibre which they compared with silk. Pyrard speaks of the silk herb; Linschoten of a kind of cloth, spun from a herb; Caesar Frederic of cloth of herbs, "a kind of silk which groweth among the woods," and Fitch of cloth "which is made of grass, which they call Yerna, it is like a silk." They may have been referring to the wild silk of Chhota Nagpur, the origin of which might easily have

been attributed by oral tradition to a plant instead of an insect. It is also possible that some fibre such as Ehea may, at this period, have been grown locally.

Wool may have been used extensively, but so far as contemporary authorities go, the poorer classes in India seem to have used very little of it during the Muslim period. No writer at this time mentions woollen garments or the fact of having seen people wrapped in blankets during the cold season. That blankets existed we know from early records as well as from the price list compiled by Abul Fazl, but we can presume without fear of contradiction that instead of woollen clothing people used cotton-padded garments. The use of woollen garments seems, however, to have been common among the upper classes. Bright coloured cloth, especially scarlet, was in demand everywhere for purposes of display; woollen garments were not used in the south for seasons of the weather, but in the north we find them popular and Akbar's preference for dress of this material doubtless had an important influence on fashions at Agra and Lahore. In the case of wool, as in that of silk, much of the consumption consisted of imported goods. Buyers sought for novelty in texture and design, and cloth from Italy, Turkey and Persia was commonly sold in the principal cities.

The wearing of shawls made of animal hair belonged primarily to Kashmir, but under Akbar's patronage the art was brought to Lahore. However, the produce of the latter place could never compete favourably with that of the former and Kashmir shawls never faced any genuine competition.

About these shawls Bernier writes: "what may be considered peculiar to Kashmir and fills it with wealth, is the prodigious quantities of shawls which they manufacture and which gives occupation even to little children. These shawls are about a French ell and a half in length and an ell broad, ornamented at both ends with a sort of embroidery made in the loom a French foot width. The Moguls and Indians, women as well as men, wear them in winter round their heads, passing them over their left shoulder as a mantle. There are two sorts manufactured, one with the wool of the country finer and more delicate than that of Spain; the other kind with the hair (called touz) found on the breast of a wild goat which inhabits the great Tibet. The latter are much esteemed and sell for as much as 150 rupees. The beaver is not so soft and fine as the hair from these goats."

The 'jamdani' had its woollen counterpart in 'jamewar' with an intricately woven pattern in wool. The whole gave an effect of being embroidered with darning stitch and only the most expensive shawls and garments were so decorated.

Importers of woollen goods found the market unsatisfactory owing to the vagaries of fashion and the disappointments of the pioneer merchants of the East India Company are one of the most prominent topics in their reports. A few sample pieces of a new cloth would command a ready sale but further shipments of similar patterns would be neglected, and there was no prospect of a steady sale such as had first been hoped for, while foreign patterns were quickly imitated by the local artisans. The number of these artisans, however, did not seem to have been large enough to attract the notice of travellers. Sheep were not an important element in the agriculture of the country and apparently the Tibetan trade in raw wool had not been established so that the supply of material was limited. A few stray remarks made by travellers on the topic refers to the fact that the wool was very coarse.

The real excellence of India, however, lay in the field of its cotton manufacture. Excellent cotton fabrics were made in Negapatam, St. Thomas and Masulipatam, "of all colours woven with diverse sorts of loom workers and figures, live and cunningly wrought which is much worn in India, better esteemed than silk for that it is higher prized than silk." The important places in Northern India where various cotton fabrics were produced were Delhi, Lahore, Agra, Patna, Benaras, Ahmedabad, Burchapur and Dacca. The

last, of course, outstripped all others in the excellence of its muslins and the products of this city have become a legend. The story of Aurangzeb rebuking his daughter for being naked when in reality she was wearing seven layers of muslin is well known. There is also the story of the cow which ate up a whole saree stretched on the grass to dry.

One of the most beautiful patterns in cotton evolved and perfected by the Muslims was 'jamdani', the weaving of delicate flowers and leaves on the flimsiest cotton. This is still produced at Tanda in the U.P. though in delicacy the work is nowhere near that produced two centuries ago. There is something in the climate of Dacca, a moisture in the air which prevents the threads from breaking which makes the weaving of such fine fabrics possible and the patronage of the Mughals raised the art to a pinnacle of perfection which has, perhaps, no parallel in the world.

The taboos of Islam, naturally affected Indian industries. Since depiction of the human figure in any form was forbidden to Islam the craftsman relinquished that mode of embellishment and turned to nature for inspiration. Persian influence dominated here also and the tree of life pattern which became a favourite during this period was the mango design known in the West as the Paisley from shawls woven in that design in the island of that name. It was used for all conceivable patterns for corners, for overall decoration and for borders, and it came to be firmly associated with Muslim weaving. It adopted numerous forms, narrow, elongated, broad, etc., and all its variations are popular even today. Flower patterns were also used for weaving into and printing on materials in all varieties except, of course, the lotus, the flower sacred to the Hindus, which survived only in Hindu kingdoms.

One use of material during this period was for making prayer mats, oblongs of cloth used by Muslims for sitting and standing on during the offering of prayers. These were made of printed cotton, silk and woollen materials. The distinguishing feature was the design which distinguished it from small carpets—the archway of a mosque at one end and sometime verses of the Quran woven in or printed.

Apart from carpets the earliest Mughal textiles known to us are of the Jahangir period (1605-1627). An examination of the paintings of Akbar's reign shows the co-existence, on the one hand of purely Persian safavi patterns and on the other of checkered and striped patterns of pre-mughal Indian style. Before the death of Akbar in 1605 the collaboration of Hindu with Persian craftsmen had spread to other branches of textile work beside carpet making; but it was under Jahangir that the first designs recognisable as specifically Mughal came into being. Among the finest products of the workshops mentioned by Bernier were wall hangings, some of brocaded velvet and others worked in silks, silver, gilt, and silver thread on a woven cotton ground. A good mixture of Persian and Indian influences appear in these, the Indianisation imposing a bolder outline and more detailed naturalism. Some went a stage further and owed more to contemporary schools of Rajput painting than anything Persian.

It would not be out of place here to cast a brief glimpse into the costumes prevailing in Hindu kingdoms which flourished during this time.

In a general description of the people applicable, on the whole, to the inhabitants of the south as well as the north, Nicolo di Conti of Milan says, "The men resemble Europeans in stature and the duration of their lives. They sleep upon silken mattresses, on beds ornamented with gold. The style of dress is different in different regions. Wool is very little used. There is great abundance of flax and silk, and of these they make their garments. Almost all, both men and women, wear a linen cloth bound round the body so as to cover the front of the person, and descending as low as the knees, and over this a garment of linen or silk, which, with the men descends to just below the knees, and with the women to the ankles. They cannot wear more clothing on account of the great heat, and

for same reason they only wear sandals with purple and green ties, as we see in ancient statues. In some places the women have shoes made of thin leather, ornamented with gold and silk. By way of ornament they wear rings of gold on their arms and on their hands; also around their necks and legs of the weight of three pounds and studded with gems."

Verthema, in A.D. 1502, describing the people of Mangalur says, "They live like pagans. Their dress is this, the men of condition wear a short skirt and on their head a cloth of gold and silk in the Moorish fashion but nothing on their feet. The common people go quite naked with the exception of a piece of cloth about their middle."

Barbosa has nothing to add to Conti's description except to add the wearing of large silk and brocade caps and "large garments thrown over their shoulders like caps."

In the *Alamgir Nama* written in the seventeenth century, Mohammad Cassim gives a description of the people of Assam: "As they (the Assamese) are destitute, of the mental garb of manly qualities, they are also deficient in the dress of their bodies; they tie a cloth round their heads, and another upon their loins and throw a sheet round their shoulders; but it is not customary in that country to wear turbans, robes, drawers or shoes." The choice of words is not very happy nor does it display any love of the people but this description, with the exception of shoes, which have now become quite popular, holds good to the present day.

Another description of the common man's dress of the 17th century is given by Pietro Della Valla, an Italian who also came to India during the time of Jahangir: ".....I must not forget, that amongst the Indian men, both Mahometans and Pagans, agreeably to what Strabo testifies, they did of old wear only white linen, more or less according to the quality of the spending; which linen is altogether of Bumbast or cotton (there being no flax in India) and for the most part very fine in comparison of those of our countries. The garment which they wear next to the skin serves both for coat and shirt, from the girdle upwards being in many folds to the middle of the leg. Under this Cassack, from the girdle downwards they wear a pair of long Drawers of the same cloth, which cover not only their thighs, but legs also to the feet; and 'tis a piece of gallantry to have it wrinkled in many folds upon the legs. The naked feet are not otherwise confined but to a slipper, and that easy to be pulled off without the help of the hand; this mode being convenient, in regard of the heat of the country, the frequent use of standing and walking upon Tapestry in their Chambers. Lastly, the Head with all the hair which the gentiles (as of old they did also, by the report of Strabo) keep long, contrary to the Mahometans who shave it, is bound up in a small, neat tarbant, of almost a quadrangular form, a little long and flat on the top. They who go most gallant use to wear their tarbant only strip'd with silk of several colours upon the white, and sometimes with gold, instead of plain white. I was so taken with this Indian dress, in regard of its cleanliness and easiness, and for the goodly show methought it had on horseback, hanging at a shoulder belt, besides a broad and short dagger of a very strange shapes, ty'd with tassell'd strings to the girdle, that caused one to be made for myself, complete in every point and to carry with me to shew it in Italy."

He goes on further to describe the dress of the women. "The Mahometan women, especially of the Mongholian and soldiers of other extraneous descents, who yet are here esteem'd, go clad likewise all in white, either plain or wrought with gold flowers, of which work there are some very goodly and fine pieces. Their upper garment is short, more beseeming a Man than a Woman and much of the same shape with those of men. Sometimes they wear a Turban too upon their heads, like men coloured and wrought with gold. Sometimes they wear only silver, for other colours they little use. Likewise their clothes are oftentimes red, of the same rich and fine linen and the Drawers are also either white or red, and oftentimes of sundry sorts of silk-stuff strip'd with all sorts of colours. When

they go along the city, if it be not in closed coaches, but on foot, or on horse back, they put on white veils wherewith they cover their faces, as 'tis the custom of all Mahometan women: yet the Indian gentile women commonly use no other colour but red, a certain linen stamp'd with works of sundry colours (which they call Cit) but all upon red, or wherein red is more conspicuous than the rest, whence their attire seems only red at a distance. And for the most part they use no garment, but wear only a close waistcoat, the sleeves of which reach not beyond the middle of the arm, the rest whereof to the hand is covered with bracelets of gold or silver or ivory, or such other things according to the ability of the persons. From the waist downwards they wear a long coat down to the foot, as I have formerly writ that the women do in the Province of Moghostan in Persia near Ormuz. When they go abroad they cover themselves with a cloak of the ordinary shapes, like a sheet, which is also used by the Mahometans, or generally by all women in the East; yet it is of red colour, or else of cit upon a red ground that is of linen stamped with small works of sundry colours upon red. . . . The Pagan women go with their faces uncovered and are freely seen by everyone both at home and abroad."

One fact that emerges from this statement was the comparative freedom enjoyed by the women of the period. Even the Muslim women, who were more restricted than their Hindu sisters, were far less restricted than they came to be later as they became overbred. The fact that their clothes were openly displayed and only their faces covered and that they moved freely about the city shows a freedom undreamed of in later years and until very recent times.

The clothes of the women seem to have been identical with that of the men except for the colour. The clothes of the conquerors were an imitation of those of the Persians. As had been the case with India through all conquests and invasions the average man and woman wore the costume that had existed for centuries, leaving the aping of the conqueror to his more fortunate brethren.

This conservatism of the people has led to the preservation of forms of ornament and dress in an almost unbroken chain of continuity through many centuries. Even the Hindu who craved favour at the court adopted the costume of his master only temporarily, shedding it for the more comfortable 'dhoti' as soon as he returned home.

The dress, therefore, would appear to have been the same all over the country. The description by Paes of Krishnaraya, King of Vijayanagar, shows him wearing a simple dress, preferably white, embroidered with roses of gold and a diamond garland round his neck. On his head he wore a cap of brocade covered with a piece of fine silk. He wore either sandals or pointed shoes.

The simplicity of the southern king as compared to the dazzling brilliance of the northern emperors may be attributed to the warm climate of the south where heavy garments of any kind would be insupportable, as much as to the essential difference between the Hindu and Muslim characters—the one inclining towards austerity and the other towards magnificent display.

As the Mughal Empire decayed and many Hindu and Muslim kingdoms sprang up, the dress of the Muslims also underwent certain changes. The greatest of these was seen in the evolution of Muslim clothes in Lucknow. The *gharara*, the voluminous divided skirt worn by the Muslim women of that city, was evolved there. It had its inspiration in the 'ghagara' of the Rajput woman, but was infinitely more complicated and difficult to make. It was essentially the dress of a leisured class, trailing far behind, and having to be either lifted like a train by an attendant or thrown over one arm. A fitting bodice reaching to the waist went with it as did a *dupatta* which also came from Rajasthan. The tight trousers and turban of the Mughal harem were discarded as being too revealing. The pictures of the ladies of the court in the Lucknow Museum show them wearing *sharars* and

dupattas. This fashion was a hardship on the poorer Muslims who while aping the fashions of court, found their purses not always able to cope with the added expenses required to make even one set of such clothes. It never caught on except among the Muslims and was restricted to the city of Lucknow and a small area round it.

In the Muslim states of Bhopal and Hyderabad, the Mughal fashions continued with slight modifications. In Bhopal, the tight trousers came to be worn with a *kurta* very like the Mughal tunic—tight to the waist with a full skirt—but here the skirt became shorter, reaching midway between the knee and ankles and the turban gave place to the veil (the *dupatta*). In Hyderabad, unmarried girls wore a dress like that worn in Bhopal but married women wore sarees. Instead of the short blouse, however, they wore a long 'kurta' slip on both sides reaching below the knee. This gave a shapeless loose outline to the body and may have been the outcome of an excessive and artificial modesty.

The men wore the tight trousers and *angarkhas* of the Mughals, but later a long loose robe fitting at the shoulder and open in front came to be worn. This was known as the *choga* and was worn by upper class men. The turban gradually gave way to many-hued and multi-shaped caps—caps with heavy gold and silver embroidery or with multi-coloured or white silk embroidery came to be worn. The turban continued mostly in the North-Western provinces of India and the Punjab. In the states it was worn by the ruler and nobles on state occasions and became a recognised part of the state regalia. It also formed an integral part of the dress of a bridegroom, as it does even to the present day.

Van Orlich was presented to Amad Ali Shah in 1843. A description of the green silk of the latter is given: *choga*, embroidered with gold and silver, fell from this shoulders to the ankles, red pantaloons and shoes, embroidered with gold and the points turned up, completed his dress. He wore a high cap, like a tiara covered with jewels, several strings of large handsome pearls hung round his neck and two costly diamond rings adorned his fingers.

The old Mughal fashion persisted in the dresses of Muslim brides and bridegrooms. The dress was usually red and highly ornamented but the pattern was the same. The turban worn by the bride was known as *peshwaz* and was also worn by dancing girls. From a band round the foreheads of bride and groom was suspended the *sehra*, a long veil of flowers or tinsel, presumably meant to protect the faces from the evil eye and acting as a screen for the artificial and elaborate display of modesty which came by degrees to be enjoined on the couple.

At what time during the Muslim period the saree was transformed from the dhoti-like apparel of the Ajanta women into the mode it has adopted now it is not possible to assert with certainty. But it may safely be presumed that with the advent of the comparatively overdressed conquerors, the Hindu women also felt the need for a covering round the shoulder and breast. What could be more natural for the poor people than to draw one end over the shoulder as was the age-old custom during the cool weather and the custom seems to have become universal and was adopted in different provinces in slightly differing ways to meet the convenience of the people of the individual states.

Reference to this is made by Manucci, the Venetian physician, who says that girls after the age of 9 or 10 wrapped a piece of cloth round themselves and when speaking to a person of quality they pulled a part of it over their head and shoulders. This dress was called *pane*.

One article of the attire of Muslim men which came into being during the latter part of the Muslim period and which, probably, had its inspiration in the Western coat was the *achkan* which later came to be called the *sherwani*. This was the long coat reaching slightly below the knees, closing down the front. At the end of the nineteenth century the clothes of Muslim men were extremely ornate. They consisted of tight trousers (*churidar-pyjama*)

of silk brocade, preferably mashroo made in Hyderabad, with a muslin tunic slit on both sides and reaching to a little above the knees, and an ornate *achkan* which, for the rich and during the winter, was made of jamewar. During the summer, light *angarkhas* were worn. Light shoes continued to be worn but the British influence was felt most strongly in footwear and closed European shoes also came to be the fashion.

Anna Harriette Leonownes who travelled a good deal in India before the days of railways gives a vivid description of clothes worn about the middle of the 19th century. Upto this time British influence in dress was very scant and thanks to her we have a detailed account of the dress worn by different classes and communities at this time.

Describing a visit to a friend's house she says that on the steps were half a dozen handsomely dressed servants in long flowing white robes called *angarkhas*, crimson and gold striped turbans and bright blue and gold cummurbands or scarfs, folded round their waists.

The costume of Parsee men of that period consisted of a long seamless muslin or silk shirt or tunic reaching to the knees, a woollen girdle with tassels and a pair of silk trousers. When going out they wore a short tunic with a silk vest over it. The fashionable Parsee gentleman of that period had adopted shoes and stockings. The cap or turban by which a Parsee was distinguished was bound round a frame in the form of a little tower, slightly higher on the right side. The stuff of which this was made was specially manufactured for the purpose at Surat. It was a sort of stiff paper muslin, figured, and, generally, of a dark red or chocolate colour, bound round the frame smoothly until it was made to assume the form of a conical tower (typical of their earliest fire temple), around which emerald and rubies were arranged on great festive occasions.

The women wore wide silk trousers gathered and fastened at the ankles, and over this they wore a silk tunic descending in graceful folds to the feet and bound at the waist, while a deep, wide scarf of silk or some other light texture gracefully draped the whole person and served at once the double purpose of a head-dress and a veil. They concealed their hair under white linen bands bound round the forehead.

After death, a Parsee was clothed in a new white cotton shirt of nine seams and an apron which was thrown over the face. This was bound by a new and sacred girdle of 72 threads.

Mrs. Leonownes goes on to describe the dress of Ram Chander, a young Hindu nobleman. He wore trousers of a deep crimson satin; over this a long white muslin *angarkha* or tunic, reaching almost to the knees; over this again he wore a short vest of purple velvet embroidered with gold embroidery. A scarf of finest cashmere was bound round his waist, in the folds of which there shone the jewelled hilt of a dagger. On his head was a white turban of stupendous size encircled with a string of large pearls; on his feet were European stockings and a pair of antique Indian slippers embroidered with many coloured silks and fine seed pearls.

She describes the dress of the Hindus as being both simple and suitable to the climate. The men wore a dhoti and an *angarkha* of either silk or cotton depending on the rank of the wearer. This was, generally, pure white, descending to the ankles and was bound round the waist with a shawl or scarf called the cummerbund. A white muslin turban completed the attire, and on festive occasions, a gay handkerchief was thrown over the right shoulder, adding much to the picturesqueness of the dress.

The women wore a saree often edged with a "rich and delicate embroidery of gold or silver." They gathered this into a point in front and fastened it round their waist with or without belts. They twisted the rest round their persons after which it was thrown over the head "and made to serve both as a bonnet and veil." According to Miss Leonownes it was very becoming and lent a peculiar charm to the most ordinary features,

A bright silk bodice was worn with the saree "and the whole dress accords well with the sweet, modest grace and beauty which characterise the pure Hindu women." The hair which was usually long and luxuriant was combed back and tied in a knot, while rich women often fastened it with a band of gold bound around the entire head and even used very expensive gold pins. The author remarks that the Hindu woman "possesses a very good eye for colour and the most ignorant have the peculiar art of selecting brilliant contrasts in colour and so disposing them on their persons as to affect a perfect harmony."

She describes the dress of a Muslim bride: "She wore a purple silk petticoat embroidered with a rich border of scattered bunches of flowers, each flower formed of various gems, while the leaves and stems were of embroidered gold and silk threads. The bodice was of the same material as the petticoat, the entire vest being marked with circular rows of pearls and rubies. The hair was parted in the Greek style and confined at the back in a graceful knot bound by a fillet of gold. On her forehead rested a beautiful flashing star of diamonds. Her slippers, adorned with gold and seed pearls, were open at the heels, showing her henna-tinted feet and curved up in front toward the instep, while from her head flowed a delicate kincauli scarf woven from gold thread, of the finest texture and of a transparent, sunbeamlike appearance. This was draped round her person and concealed her eyes and nose revealing only the mouth and chin."

The author seems to have had a great eye for detail and little escaped her notice. She even describes the dress of nautch girls. They wore "bright-coloured silk vests and drawers that fitted tightly to the body and revealed a part of the neck, arms and legs; a full transparent petticoat attached low down almost on the hips, leaving an uncovered margin all around the form from the waist of the bodice to where the skirt was secured on the hips; over this a saree of some gauze like texture, bound lightly over the whole person, the whole so draped as to encircle the figure like a halo at every point and, finally, thrown over the face in a most bewitching veil. The hair was coiled smoothly back and tied in a knot behind, while on the forehead, ears, neck, arms, wrists, ankles and toes were a profusion of dazzling ornaments."

Another description of a Christian wedding procession in the Portuguese owned town of Daman shows the intermingling of Western and conservative Indian influence among the Christians. Flowers were scattered along the route by dark-skinned Portuguese girls dressed in long, white trousers and old-fashioned pink frocks. Presently church bells began to toll and a company of dark-hued damsels issued in full sight, dressed in tinsel and gold, with long white muslin veils, almost like sarees woven round their persons. The bride was closely veiled from head to foot like a muslim woman. The bridegroom was dressed as an English general, with a dark blue embroidered frock coat, golden epaulettes, scarlet pantaloons, sword and a cocked hat with feathers. Before the ceremony the bride dropped the veil.

An item worthy of note is the great variety of turbans and caps that were worn during this period, some belonging exclusively to Hindus or Muslims and others being common to both. The turban universally used throughout India was generally of plain muslin texture although other materials were also introduced for purposes of ornament. *Patti-dar-pagri* and *Juri-dar-pagri* were used by both Hindus and Muslims. The *Khirkidar-pagri* (literally, turban with window), a full dress turban worn by people of both religions attached to native courts, with a band of brocade, was part of the honorary dress (*khilat*). The *Nastalik* was full court dress turban of the plainest white muslin, fitting closely to the head. The *Chakvidar* was a turban used by Muslims of Mysore and South India. The *Sethi* was used by bankers while the *Mandil*, a muslin turban with gold stripes, spots and ends, was used by officers of the army. The *Shamla* was a shawl turban. The turban in its unfolded condition was 9 to 12 inches in width and 15 to 25 yards in length. The ornament was, generally, reserved for the ends and borders—portions which were most

exposed. It was an extremely important item of clothing since it protected the head from the sun and revealed at one glance the rank, religion and sometimes even the caste of a person. It was unheard of for a man to leave the house bareheaded and great attention was paid to the correct folding and tying of the turban.

Caps were also variously shaped and many-hued. In South India many Brahmins, Hindu Yogis and Buddhists wore caps of saffron-coloured cotton which fitted closely to the head and descended with two flaps over the ears. Brahmins of Sind wore a sort of smoking cap made of white or coloured cotton and also a cap lined with cotton and with a knob at the top. These were sometimes embroidered with coloured floss and were made of rich fabrics like silk or velvet. The most gorgeous form of head-dress was the bulky *topi* made entirely of gold and silver cloth, adorned with precious stones, or of velvet with heavy gold and silver embroidery. These were made around Delhi, Lucknow, and Banaras, and sometimes formed part of the dress of honour presented to persons of distinction by princes of native courts. The Parsee cap of stiff cotton has been mentioned above. The Sindhi *topi* was a cylinder like an inverted hat with the brim uppermost and was produced in a variety of colours. The Moplas of Malabar wore and still wear a stiff cap of twisted silk thread, or of pasteboard round which was bound an handkerchief, while in the North West Frontier areas the lambskin cap was also patronised. Gudders in the Transutlej Division wore a conical cap of wool with long flaps to protect the ears, the front being decorated with dried flowers, gay feathers and red seeds like strings of beads. In Simla the Kunyts wore felt hats and caps which were rendered more attractive by addition of coloured cloth. In Lucknow and Gaya the *foppish* small caps of the Muslims, embroidered with chikan work enjoyed great popularity, and embroidered skull caps were sometimes worn even by women. In Kulu, a small quilted cap of gay chintz was worn. It was adorned in the case of women with broad chains of berries, beads and turquoises and amulets of enamel and china, while a cap of the same variety in Kashmir was and is still used for hanging earrings and head ornaments. The cold climate of these regions make a head covering necessary and so the cap is used for displaying ornaments which in other parts of the country are fixed in the hair or hung from the ears.

The first thing that strikes a foreigner watching any group of Indians is the diversity of their dress. It seems to him that perhaps no form of dress worn anywhere in the world is absent from an Indian scene. India, the land of variety, seems to excel sartorially even more than in other directions. At any railway station, for instance, it is possible to get a panoramic view of the variety prevailing. All modes of dress from the holy Sadhu clothed only in ashes and the sacred *rudraksha* beads to the highly Westernised rather foppish civil servant complete with a Saville Row suit, highly polished Oxfords and a hat, pass before his bewildered gaze in the space of a few minutes. In between he finds the voluminous *ghagara* and brief choli of the Rajput woman, the tight pyjamas and long kurta of the U.P. Muslim woman, the *salwar* and *kameez* of the Punjab, the coarse saree without either petticoat or blouse of the U.P. peasant woman and the highly modernised chiffon saree, brief choli, high heeled shoes and slick handbag of the emancipated city woman. As he looks round he realises that the much talked of saree is seldom worn alike by two women. The dhoti of every man, he notices, also seems to be worn differently, with the pleats left hanging down the front, or taken between the legs and tucked in at the back. Many men wear lungis—just a piece of material folded round the waist—but here again conformity is conspicuous by its absence; it may be plain or bordered or checked or striped and it may just hang down to the ankles or be doubled up and tucked in again at the waist leaving the legs free. Pyjamas range from the voluminous *salwar* of the Punjab to the tight churidars. In between come legs of all widths from the Aligarh cut which moulds the legs to the really wide ones which appear to be divided skirts. Shirts range from thin muslin ones used for displaying fancy crochet work to stiff-collared Western shirts, white, coloured or striped. Without ever having read a word about India or Indians, without ever having talked to them or heard them speak it is possible just from looking at them to classify them as rank individualists. Standardisation is not for them and no matter how insignificant the difference, each personality expresses itself in a manner slightly different from the other.

The century opened with a slight change in the dress that had prevailed earlier. Western influence had pervaded the upper classes and professional and business men dressed in the approved Victorian style, with stiff collars, fully buttoned waistcoats, striped trousers, hats, spats, and those who could afford them sported enormous watch chains and monocles. At home this dress was discarded for the kurta and dhoti or kurta and pyjama. Kurtas were white muslin ones, finely embroidered or plain, but it was in the pyjamas that all the Oriental love of glitter was concentrated. These were made of heavy cotton brocades of Hyderabad, of galta and mushroo—the satin or cotton ground woven in Azamgarh and Bhopal—or, on really festive occasions, of rich Baparas brocades. The long sherwani of the Muslim and the shorter (closed neck) band-gale-ka-coat of the Hindu were also made of these fabrics or were of heavy velvet embroidered richly with gold and silver thread and spangles. The Moghul costume still persisted in the dress of the bride and bridegroom, both of whom were dressed to look like a prince and princess wearing silks and brocades, either red or yellow in colour and covered with gold embroidery.

When a girl was married she continued to wear clothes as heavy as her marriage ones for at least a year or more depending on the financial circumstances of her husband's

family. So long as her eldest child did not marry she wore all her most expensive clothes on the occasion of festivals and marriages. Even at home she would not wear a dupatta or a saree without attaching a tinsel border to it. This was removed every time the garment was washed and was stitched on again. Her hands were never free of henna and her feet of alta. It was only when she became a mother-in-law that her clothes were simpler and she gained in dignity and status. In spite of the strict purdah observed, Western influence crept into feminine clothes also and fashion-conscious women strove to incorporate the new styles into their own without losing their own individuality. The result was a not too happy blend of Occident and Orient in the form of a western dress held up at the waist by a heavy girdle (*kardhani*) of gold or silver and a dupatta to cover the head and bosom. No decent woman would, of course, be seen without her head covered. The system of covering the head was different in different parts of the country. In the North Indian plains around Agra, Delhi and Lucknow, where Muslim influence was strongest, heads were never uncovered from the time a girl started wearing the saree or the dupatta at the age of about five or six upto the time she died. In other places like Bengal the covering of the head denoted submission to the husband and in-laws and so the head was covered only after marriage. In the south the head was always left uncovered and the hair was beautifully groomed and decorated with flowers.

In the first two decades of the 20th century a great many changes took place behind the walls of zenanas and vagaries of Fashion dictated the width of pyjama legs, the length and fineness of the kurta, and fit of the choli, the length of the sleeves and so on. Exaggerated ideas of modesty banished the tight pyjamas of the Mughal woman as being too revealing and dictated a medium width that would blur the outlines of the form and yet not be apt to ride up during sleep as was the case with the enveloping *ghararas* of Lucknow and the wide *ghagaras* of Rajasthan. The saree was draped over the head and shoulders, the palloo being tucked in at the front and since the arms and bosom were fully covered the tight choli did not hurt the sense of the proper. These cholis were cut very elaborately, serving as they did the purpose of blouse and brassiere, and were embroidered with silk or gold threads. In spite of all the modesty no art was spared to make the person alluring and some of these garments would stun modern dress designers in their refinements for adding allure to the female form.

Only those women who had broken the bonds of purdah sought anonymity in the shapeless blouse and the concealing saree which became increasingly the fashion in the early 'thirties. Even at that time it was considered highly improper for decent women (especially Muslims) to show themselves in public without either a *burqa*, the all-enveloping garment which falls in heavy folds round the figure from a small cap fitted to the head, leaving only a slit for the eyes, and which probably had for its inspiration the Arabian *burnous* or the *chadar*, the sheet, which enveloped one completely leaving only a part of the face and the hands free and all women sought to appear exactly alike so that no one could tell to which caste or creed they belonged. Hindus, Muslims, Bengalis, Mahrattas, Sikhs, all adopted the universal outdoor dress of the shapeless blouse and the inelegantly-tied saree. The fashion had for its counterpart the ugly fashions of the Charleston and flapper age in Europe when waists came to rest somewhere below the hips and it was difficult at first glance to differentiate a boy from a girl.

As Westernisation crept into the realm of dress and as the British Government forced more and more foreign goods into the country and discouraged indigenous manufacture, foreign materials came to be hot favourites. French chiffons and crepe-de-chines, Japanese silks and English taffetas vied for pride of place and Indian goods sank into the background. Heavy Indian silks came to be completely discarded except among the orthodox South Indians and the cheapness of Japanese rayon brought a slump in the Indian weaving trade, and the weaver trying to eke out a miserable livelihood literally

starved. But the Indian trade is always quick to scent new trends and soon Mysore took the lead in producing fine georgettes and crepes that compared favourably with any in the world. These, however, because of lack of mass production were very expensive and were a luxury which could be afforded only by the rich.

Gradually, however, the self-consciousness of fresh emergence from purdah wore off and better sense prevailed. The female form slowly discarded its ugly cocoon and sarees came to be draped more revealingly, accentuating a slender hip or good bust line and hiding a too prominent hip or thick ankles. The palloo, instead of being brought over the head and shoulders, was carelessly thrown over the left shoulder leaving the right arm free and the head uncovered. Blouses gradually became narrower and were soon clinging tightly to the form though still not quite as revealing as the earlier ones had been.

In Lucknow, meanwhile, the enormous 36 or 40 yards *ghararas* had decreased in volume and now even married women were wearing the skimpier six yard ones that had previously been worn only by unmarried girls. The bodice worn with it had gradually lengthened until it was just above the knees and here, too, the skill of the tailor was tested to the full in the form-revealing fit. In the Punjab the *salwar* and *kameez* had come into their own. The enormous fashion potential of the Punjabi woman had been realised and the kameez had gradually become patterned on the Western frock. The well-built Punjabi woman showed off those styles to perfection. The *dupatta* or 'chunni' as it was called here, had lost its original purpose of concealing and had become a mere gauzy adjunct to the dress, enhancing the allure by adding a hint of mystery.

In other parts of India the orthodox woman wore the saree in her own special way : in Coorg, like a sarong pulled tight over the bosom and hanging in a straight line down the front ; in Maharashtra, like a dhoti taken between the legs and tucked in at the back ; in Bengal, with the pleats at the back and the palloo brought in front ; in Gujarat, still in the way in which it had been worn in Northern India earlier and is still worn by orthodox women with the palloo in front, known as the 'seedha palla'. The Assam woman still wore her "mekhla" or Sarong ; the Kashmiri woman her long tunic that covered her from neck to just above the ankles. In Rajasthan, the *gharara* still swung to the rhythmic movement of the labourer, while the lower class Malabar and Orissa women defied all rules of modesty and still went about unconcernedly with the bosom uncovered, the saree draped from their waists.

Men's fashions in India have undergone all the changes met with in the West and fashionable men have appeared in everything from baggy Oxford trousers—to sports shirts and dinner jackets. Unlike the women men found Western clothes more suited to a busy life and have adopted them in toto for office and business wear. At home the dhoti or pyjama and kurta have persisted, but here the change in texture and colour is very marked. Simplicity in fabric and cut is the keynote and the predominant colour is white. Sherwanis, which until recently were worn only on occasions when the use of the Western suit would have been considered *outré*, but are now prescribed as the official dress (white in summer and black in winter), changed from gaudy ones of brocade to simple serge, cotton or silk ones to be worn on all occasions, except on the occasions of marriage when still sometimes the bridegroom wears a rich tissue or kinkhab sherwani and Banaras turban and rides a horse, a sword stuck bravely in his girdle.

With India's admiration for the Chinese renaissance and a pride in being Asian, the Chinese coat has gained rapid ground. Even the Government now frowns on an open collared coat and circulars have been issued to Government employees to wear the closed coat to office. Evening clothes consist of a black closed-neck suit in winter and a white sharkskin coat with black trousers in summer. Shoes and socks still are Western in pattern. For casual wear the bush-shirt, a slightly formalised version of the Manilla shirt, is a firm favourite and is worn alternately with a soft-collared shirt of Western cut. With

the progress of the National Movement, garments of Khaddar (home-spun) became the uniform of the participants and many a Saville Row suit and a Saks, Fifth Avenue tie and slacks found a place in bonfires that burnt all over the country, rapidly consuming foreign goods. But the pyjama is more conducive for relaxing in, rather than for working and even wearers of khaddar wore coats and pants although the coat became the high collared one already so popular with the orthodox Hindu.

The greatest change, however, came about in the realm of headgear. Where formerly it had been possible to tell the caste, profession and province of a man by the way he tied his turban, now caste distinction became lost in bare heads. The small convict-like Gandhi cap became a badge of a fighter for freedom and was worn as a gesture of defiance until 1947, after which it became a part of the national dress and a sign of the ruling class. The Sikhs still wore their turbans as did some orthodox people in the south and in Rajasthan, but generally speaking, most headgear went into the limbo of oblivion and in spite of the burning heat of the sun even the Solar topee did not catch on. Most men now content themselves with shading their heads with a book or a handkerchief, but usually they go about unconcernedly not seeming to feel at all the burning rays beating down on their heads.

It was World War II that rehabilitated the Indian weaver and gave an unprecedented fillip to feminine fashions. Scarcity of imported goods turned people's attention to goods that were readily available and for the first time in a long while the heavy South Indian silks, Banaras tissues and the gossamer thin cottons of Madurai and Dacca caught the women's imagination. The scarcity of material and high prices of gold and silver brought about a complete change in standards of elegance. Where no woman would ever have dreamt of wearing a saree without a heavy border either woven into it or attached separately or some other kind of ornamentation, it suddenly became high fashion to wear plain unornamented sarees. Gradually, as the possibilities of this new style became apparent, the theme was improved upon. One single flower worked or painted in the saree with the prominent colour repeated in the choli lent a glamour and distinction that had been hitherto undreamt of. As the emphasis shifted from the heavily ornamented saree it came to rest on what the saree covered and figure-consciousness suddenly sprang into being. The blouse significantly changed its name back into choli and tailors sought inspiration in the cholis worn by the Maharashtra and Rajput women with the result that smart women appeared wearing very little between the neck and the midriff and displaying a bare back. The emphasis shifted from the saree to the choli primarily because it was cheaper to buy one yard of expensive flowered or embroidered material than it was to buy six, but the effect proved so pleasing that the fashion seems to have come to stay and even on most formal occasions it is fashionable to wear a plain saree with a patterned brocade choli—the scantier the better. The change from the shrouded woman to this new creature flaunting her charms for all to see was startling to say the least, but both men and women seem to have taken it in their stride and women dressed scantily form an ordinary part of the daily scene. Of course, the peasant woman all over the country had always been scantily dressed but she dressed in a way that she had done for generations, with no realisation of the possibilities of allure and so her effect has always been quite different from that produced by her modern sisters.

Since the War, Indian women have lost all desire for anonymity; rather, like women in other countries, they seem to seek the limelight. Where a few years ago those women who left purdah would never have dreamt of wearing anything but the saree, now even non-Muslim women sometimes wear *ghararas* out-doors. The dress has not caught on because of its high cost and difficulty in managing it, but certainly the *salwar-kameez* of the Punjab has become a hot favourite all over the country especially among teenage girls, who from Indian concepts, have become too old to wear skimpy frocks and are not old

enough yet to be able to manage the saree. It has become a nation-wide sports uniform and even the women's territorial army has adopted it. While allowing complete freedom of movement it still maintains the decorum and covers the legs which the Indian woman still hesitates, for some reason, to show.

The war brought about a consciousness not only of the possibilities of Indian fabrics but also of Indian designs and Indian hand-blocked prints and embroideries find more customers than foreign designs both for personal wear and for interior decoration.

Western fabrics, however, are still in demand in the fashion world because they are somewhat expensive and are not easily available owing to import restrictions. Cut cambrics and fine patterned voiles and French material are still dear to the heart of the fashionable woman, but the effects created by indigenous fabrics are not possible in these and so Indian fabrics and designs seem to have finally found their rightful place.

Another recent change has been the growing popularity of cotton materials. Cotton has always been a great favourite of India because of its suitability to the climate, but until recently, it has been considered a humble product fit for wearing at home. Now its fashion potential has been realised and some of the loveliest sarees on festive occasions are those woven from the humble fibre. As new patterns and textures are demanded prices go up and it is possible now to buy a cotton saree for as much as 200 rupees. Centres of cotton weaving have suddenly become very active and each tries to vie with the other in producing new designs which will enthrall the fashion world and bring it good profits.

Recently an Englishman who had travelled widely remarked that he saw more well-dressed women in New Delhi than he had seen anywhere else. Most of us, after a look around the world, would be inclined to agree. The Indian woman has always had impeccable good taste. All that was required was for her to be able to absorb other influences and see the world for herself. As soon as she could do that she selected what was most suited to herself taking it and making it her own, never leaving the individuality, dignity and beauty that the saree gives her but adding to it fresh influences to make it suitable to changing world conditions.

The most striking feature of women's clothes of the present day is the discarding of old ideas of displaying wealth through sartorial splendour and the preference for simple materials and designs. Where, a few years ago, the bride wore not only heavy ornaments but clothes so profusely embroidered with silver and gold thread as to make her bend under the load (I have seen a bridal *dupatta* so heavy that it required four persons to fold it) the bride of today wears a saree (or *gharara* and shirt or salwar-kameez as the case may be) of fine Banaras tissue or chiffon or nylon embroidered daintily and exquisitely with scattered flower motifs and a plain blouse, making her appear aesthetically far superior to her earlier counterpart who so meekly fulfilled the role of a show window for displaying the family wealth. The bride's trousseau, too, has undergone a startling revolution. Where her mother carried away clothes calculated to last for years and be handed down generation after generation, the modern bride brings clothes which she can wear on every occasion and which she usually wears out in a year or so. Light airy nets, nylons and chiffons, sturdy crepes and silks still form the basis of her wardrobe; but now instead of being plastered with gold and silver embroidery these are embroidered with silk and are even sometimes left plain. Even where heavy Banaras sarees are used the colours are so deliberately toned-down that the effect is never heavy or garish.

The greatest single change has probably been in the realm of colour. Indian women have always been noted for their keen colour sense and no matter how many colours have been used to form a traditional design they always blend smoothly, never producing a single jarring note. But the traditional Indian idea was never to match colours. Indians always chose colours which supplement one another to show up to best advantage. For

instance, a village girl would still never dream of wearing a pink *dupatta* with a pink salwar. A pink *dupatta* would be worn with a green or purple salwar. Yellow and purple, yellow and green, red and green, purple and red, and a host of other colours mixed and enliven the Indian countryside infusing a feeling of life and vigour to any scene. Nothing can be more gay than a village bazaar with the white or drab coloured clothes of the men forming a perfect background to the swaying 'lahngas' and vivid coloured or printed *dupattas* or sarees of the women.

The modern woman has, however, incorporated Western ideas of matching colours to a remarkable degree. Colours are kept light and even in a multi-coloured ensemble one shade provides the basic theme for the whole. Even where contrast effects are desired the two colours used are never as positive as the ones that were used earlier.

Another idea which the West has contributed to the dress of the Indian woman is that of using different shades of colour for different occasions and different parts of the day and the use of separate night clothes. Luncheons, dinners and tea parties of the modern kind were unknown in this country until recent times. Women visited the homes of relatives and friends rarely and mostly on occasions of either rejoicing or mourning. A short visit was unheard of. Out of town, people came and stayed for days and even months while even the ones who were neighbours felt that a visit of an hour or two was an insult to the host and hostess. Since visiting was a rare event it called for formal attire and occasions like marriages, naming ceremony of an infant, etc., called for full "war paint" and the best finery. A pair of clothes was donned in the morning and kept on the whole day until it was time to leave except in the case of some extra clothes-conscious ladies who brought a few changes of clothes with them and appeared every few hours resplendent in a new costume, if possible, even more dazzling than the last. However, no matter how frequent the changes of dress, the colours and materials remained the same, paying no heed to the changing times of the day. Only the seasons demanded special colours, especially the rainy season which was the signal for wearing bright reds and vivid greens.

Now, however, special colours are worn during different parts of the day. No fashionable woman would dream of turning up at noon in a scarlet saree trimmed with heavy gold lace. Printed georgette or chiffon or embroidered or finely woven cotton sarees are *de rigor* for morning and noon functions, except during the winter when silks and crepes of light shade may be substituted. Narrow borders, light 'Jari' work or silk embroidery are favourites for the afternoon and evening, and it is only during late evening functions or on some specially festive occasion that heavy sarees of dark colours are to be seen. Even a summer bride now prefers to wear white, a colour until now regarded with abhorrence as indicating mourning.

A few words about the tailor or 'durzi', as he is known in India, would not be out of place here. The Indian tailor, like his fellow-craftsmen, has always been an artist. Laborious, painstaking, patient and hardworking he has produced masterpieces of skill in the way of embroidered shirts, caps, sherwanis and even quilts. Before the advent of the sewing machine, which has made his lot so much easier, his stitching was unmatched for fineness and evenness. Since early fashions demanded quality rather than quantity he spent as much as six months over a garment, making intricate appliqué patterns with minute pieces of material, sewing seams in the shape of leaves, fishes, curves and zigzags, and sometimes even embroidering. With the advent of the machine, however, his skill in this direction has diminished considerably.

The Indian tailor, unlike other craftsmen, is not born to the profession. There is no caste of tailors. Young boys are apprenticed at an early age and so learn the art; but there is no scientific training of any kind and most of the learning is done by hit and miss methods. Training in cutting, which is a very highly specialised job, is reserved for some men's tailors who work in huge establishments which combine tailoring with retail selling

of material. Some of them specialise in ladies' coats and can produce garments as good as any in the world. Men's suits are also well-tailored, but in the matter of cholis and kameez, the hit and miss method prevails. One can never be sure of a good fit even at the best establishments and repeated trips of the same garment to the tailor are an everyday occurrence.

Sewing was also considered one of the jobs a woman could do without disgracing herself and her family and many women of respectable family earned a fair livelihood this way. Even now many well-to-do families employ seamstresses to make quilts, sew kurtas, *ghararas* and other items which do not entail expert cutting. In many places like Lucknow, embroidery is also done by women and is distributed by retail merchants.



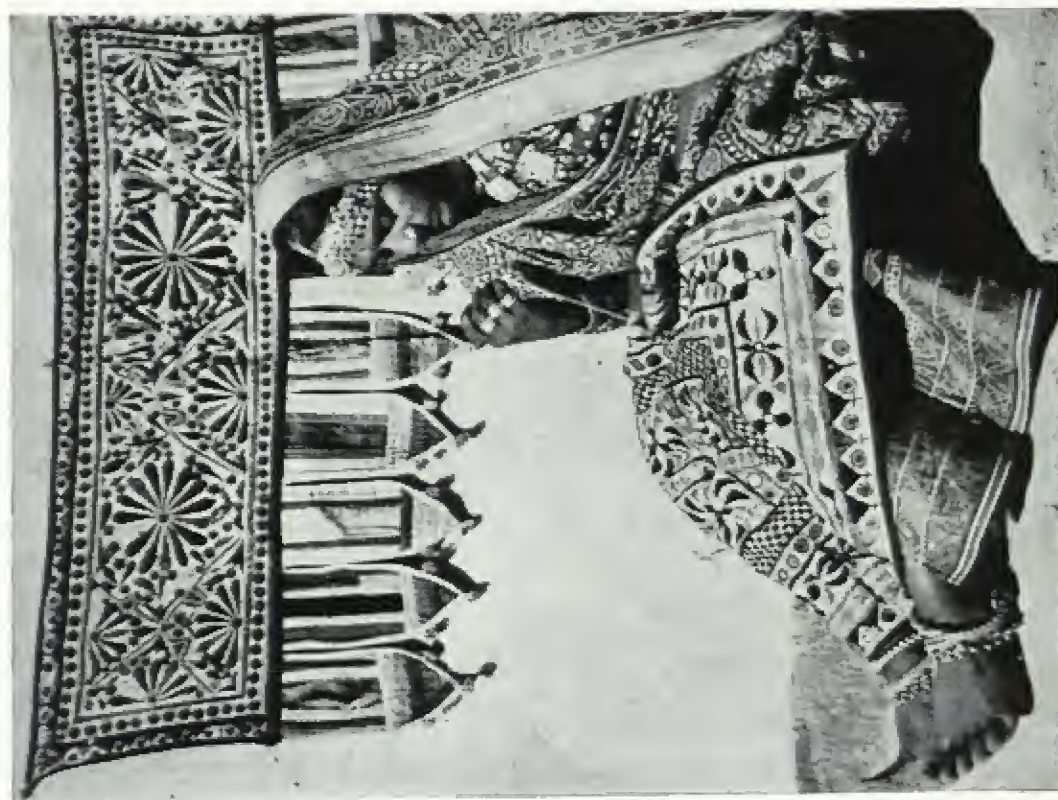
A VILLAGE BELLE FROM THE PUNJAB



A VILLAGE WOMAN OF HYDERABAD

(Photos : Darshan Lall)

OLD EMBROIDERER OF DELHI



SAURASHTRA LADY DOING EMBROIDERY

(Photos : A. L. Syed)



PART OF AN EMBROIDERED BODICE.
AN EXAMPLE OF PRIMITIVE EMBROIDERY OF THE RUBARIS



AN EXAMPLE OF PRIMITIVE EMBROIDERY
A PETTICOAT OF THE RUBARI TRIBE.

(From *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry*,
Vol. II)



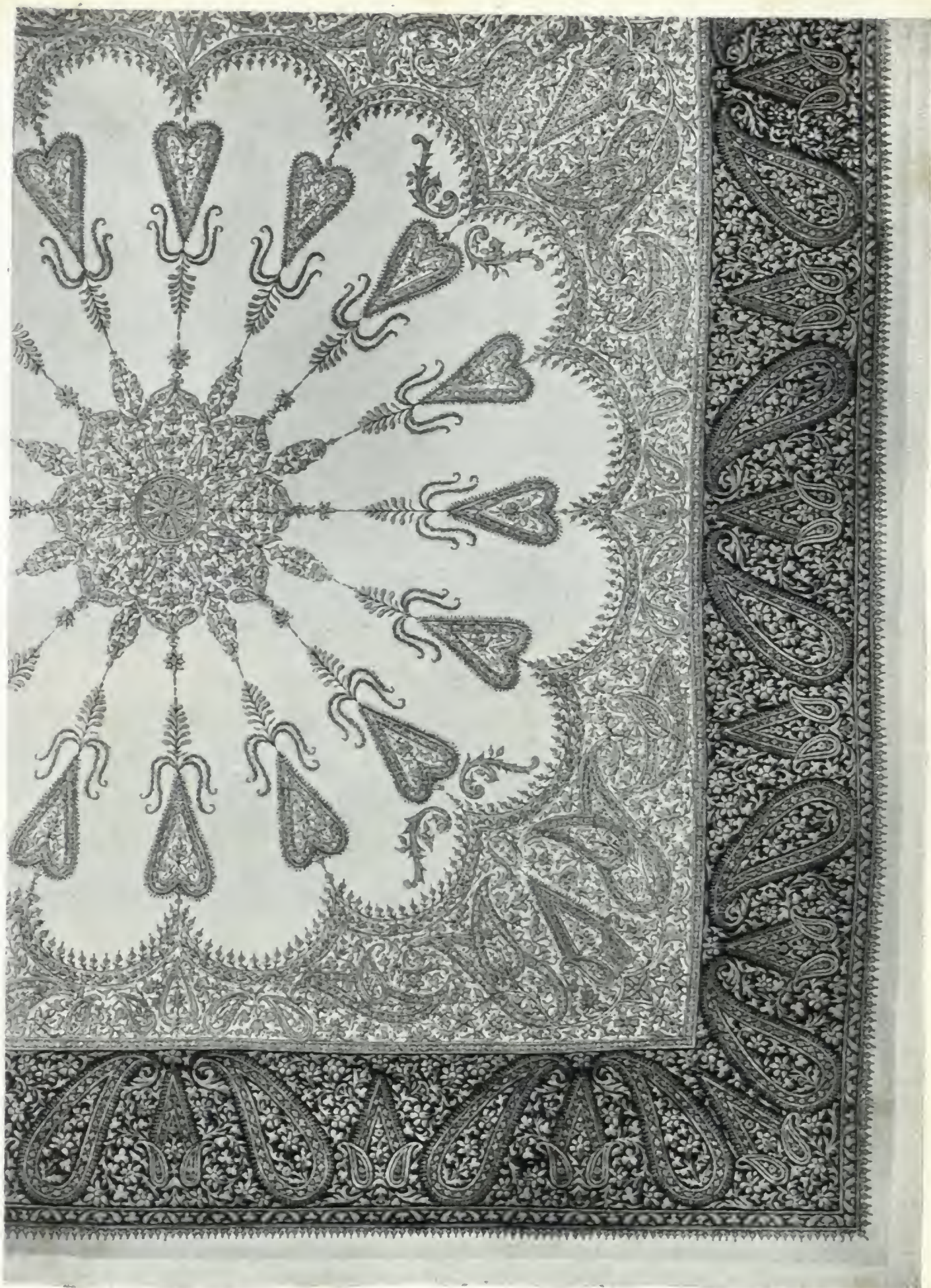
KASHMIR SCARF-END

A fine specimen exhibiting a harmonious blending of deep-toned colours.
 (From *Industrial Arts of XIXth Century at the Great Exhibition* by M. Digby Wyatt)



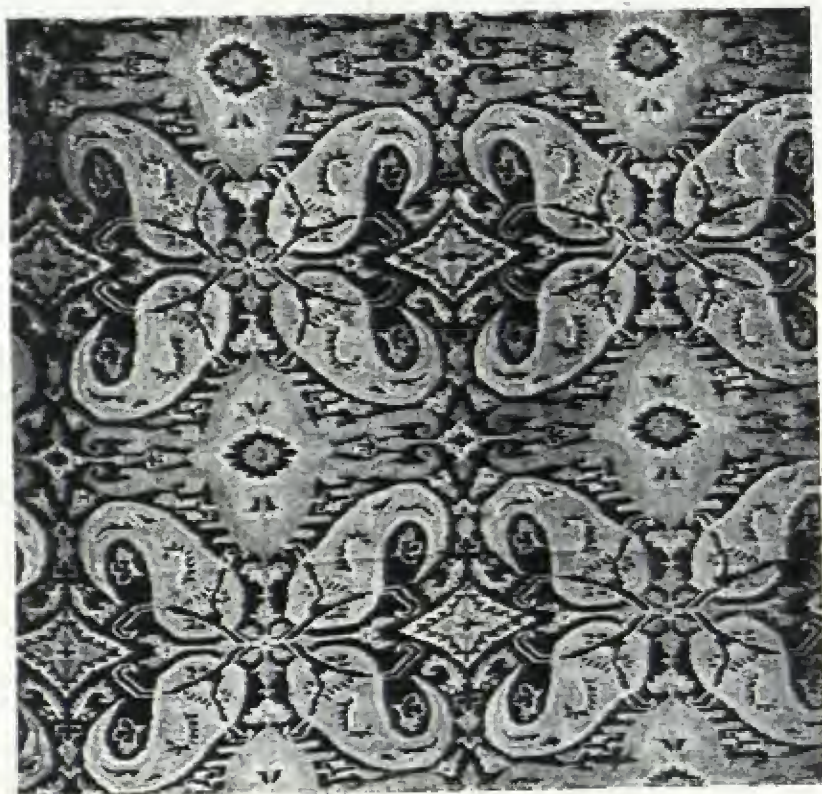
SHAWL FROM DELHI

With the pattern worked on a Kashmir ground. A fine specimen of gorgeous colour and elaborate execution
 (From *Industrial Arts of the XIXth Century at the Great Exhibition* by M. Digby Wyatt)



GOLD-EMBROIDERED KASHMIR SHAWL

A fine example of delicacy of design and harmony of colours



WOVEN SHAWL, KASHMIR

(By Courtesy of Bharat Kala Bhawan)

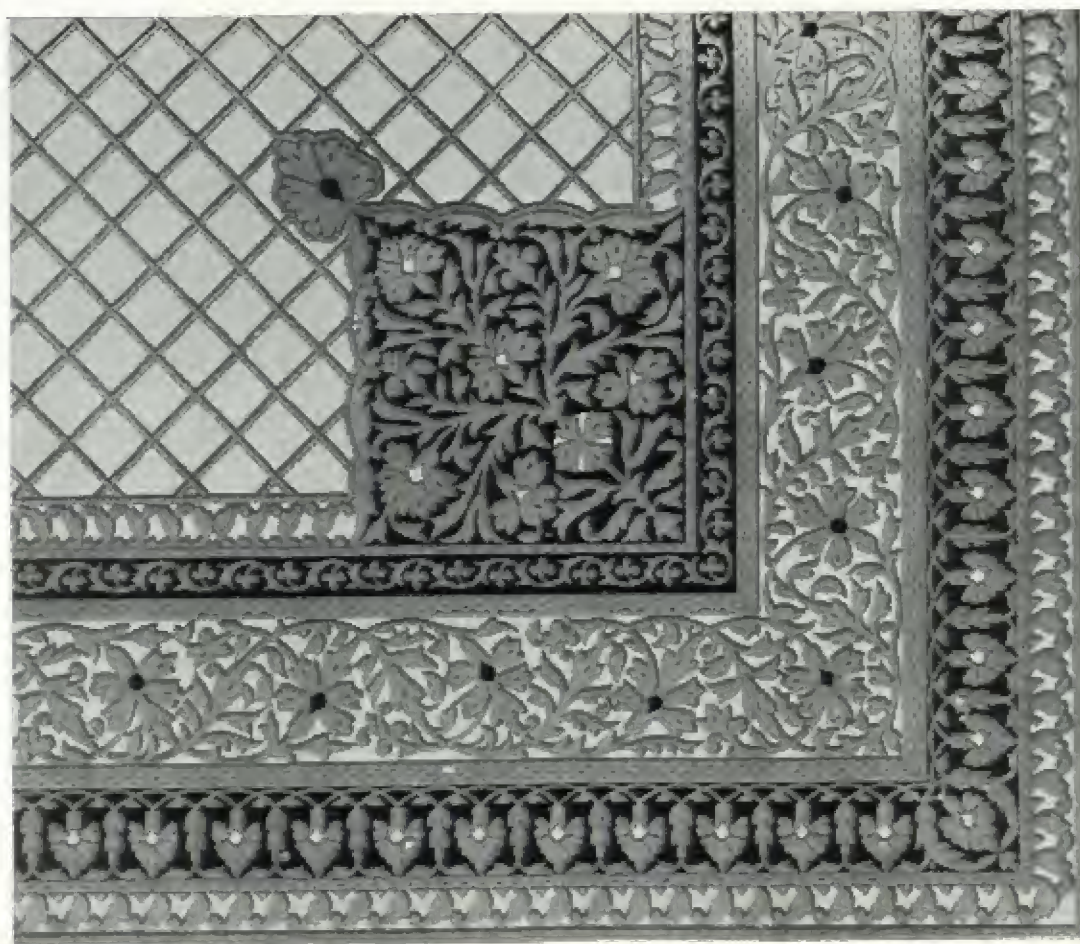


PALAKOLA CURTAIN (PALAMPORE)

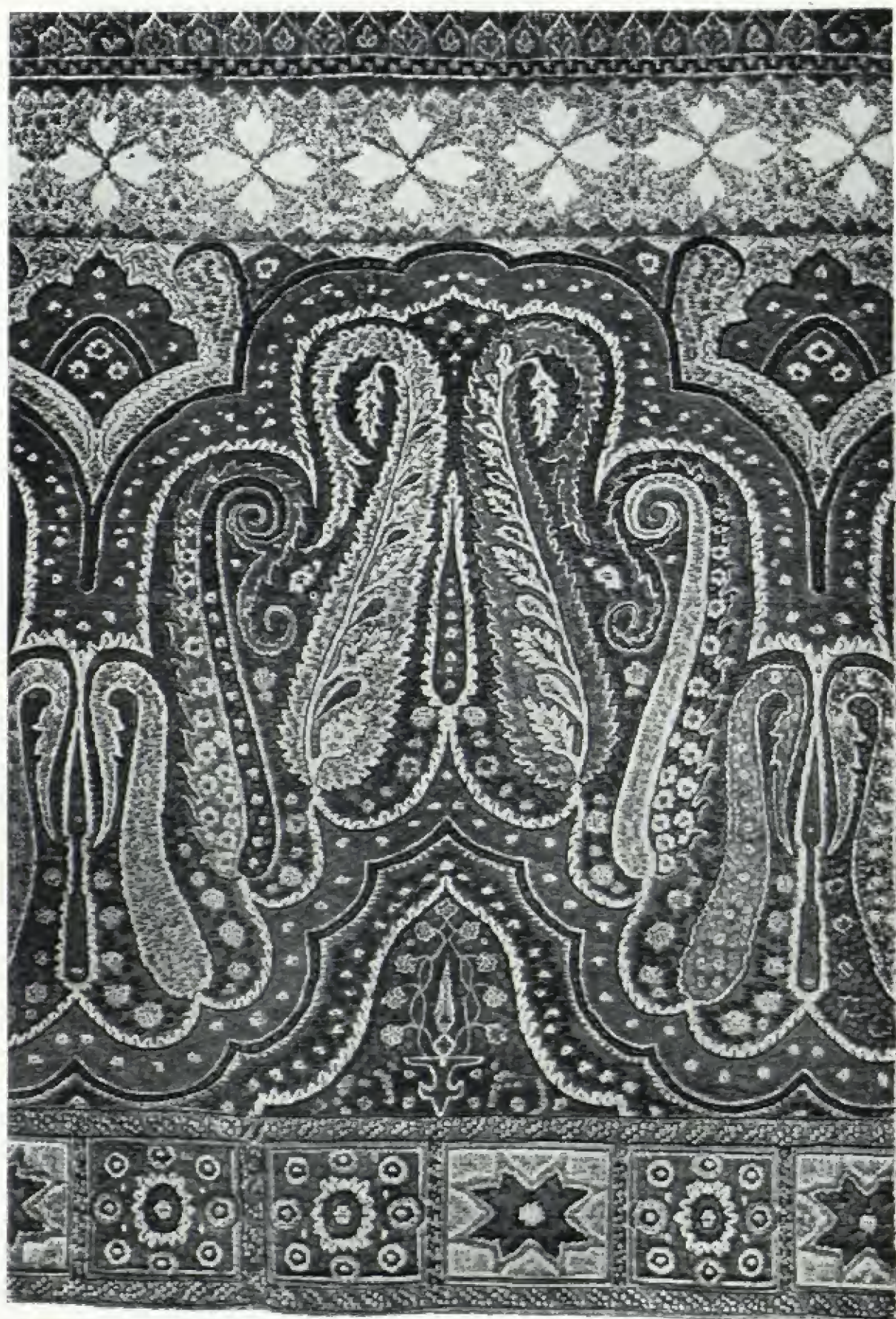
(By Courtesy of Government Museum, Madras)



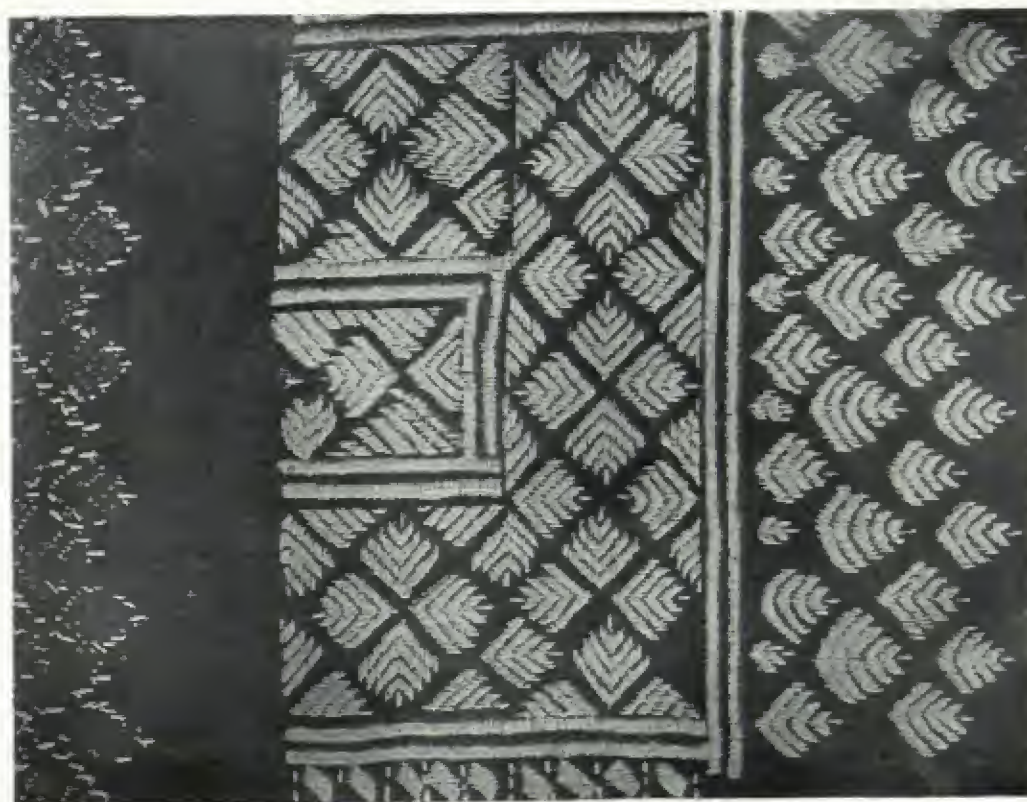
EMBROIDERED SOOZNI FROM PESHAWAR
(From *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry*)



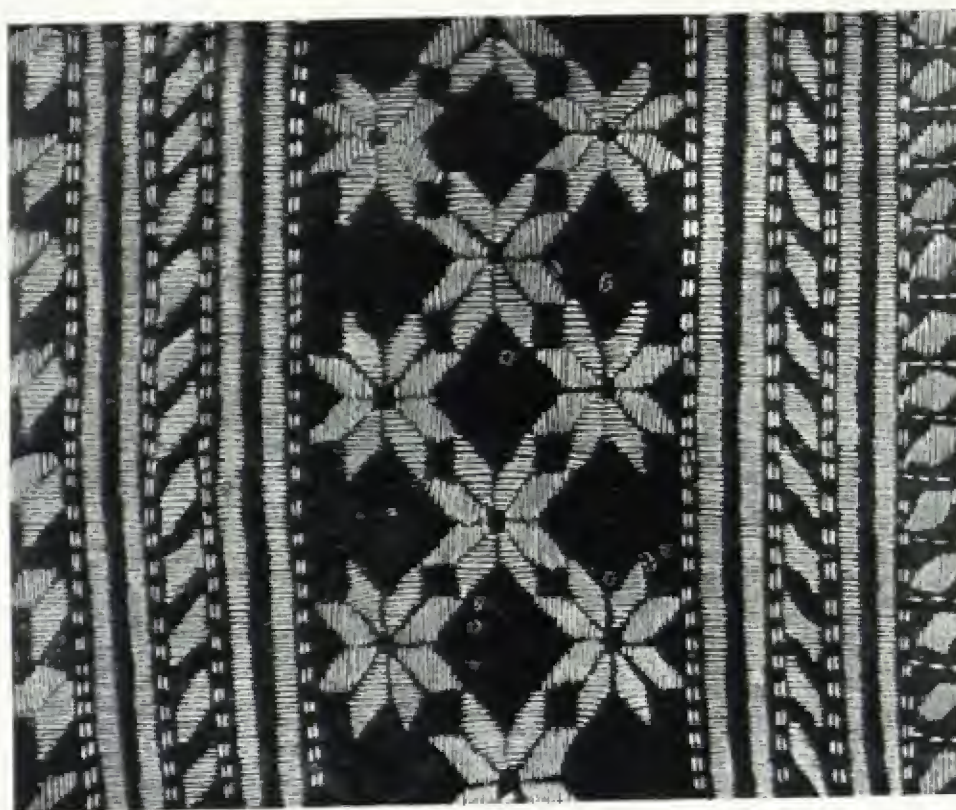
SPECIMEN OF INDIAN BULLION EMBROIDERY
(From *Industrial Arts of the XIXth Century at the Great Exhibition* by M. Digby Wyatt)



SUPERB WOOLLEN SHAWL FROM AMRITSAR
(From *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Vol. II)



EXAMPLE OF PHULKARI WORK FROM THE ROHTAK DISTRICT
With orange stitches on a reddish-brown ground

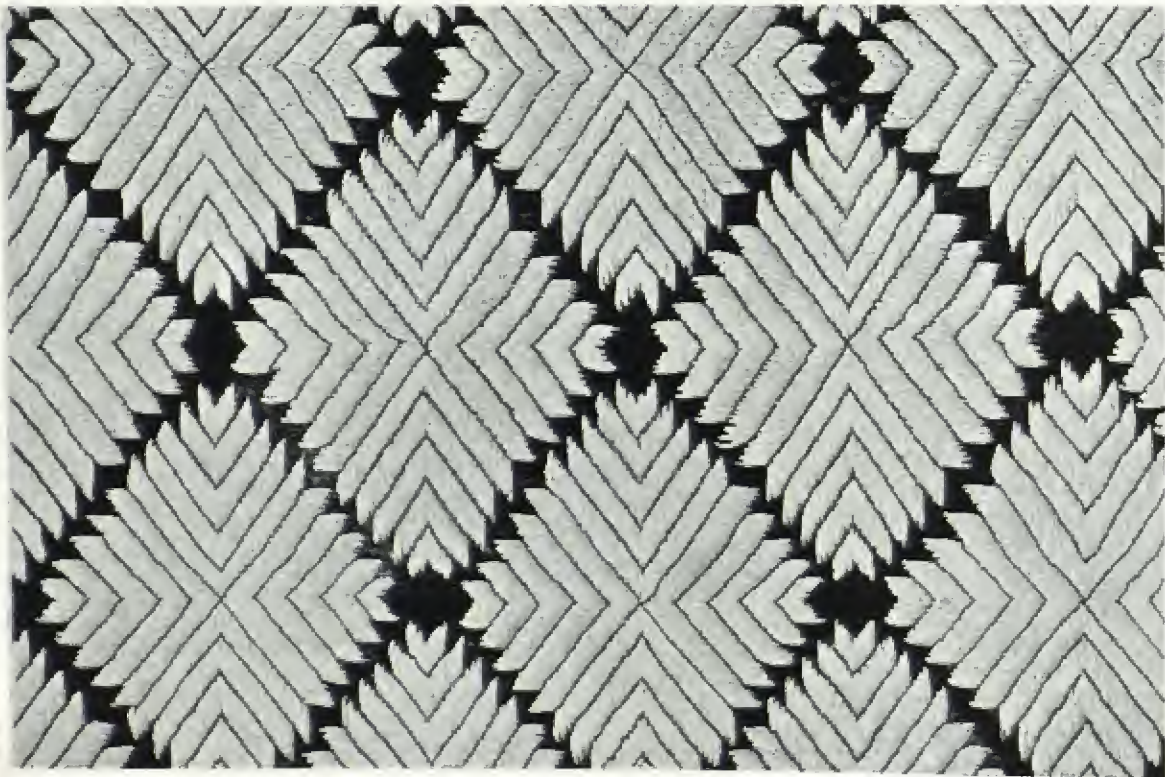


A VERY OLD BORDER IN PHULKARI WORK FROM THE PUNJAB
Showing highly decorative darning stitch

(From *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Vol. II)



EMBROIDERED SARI IN PHULKARI WORK FROM AMRITSAR
With a beautiful border in excellent colouring



BAGH TARA, PERFECT EXAMPLE OF PURE DIAPERING IN
PHULKARI WORK FROM HAZARA DISTRICT

(From *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Vol. II)



ORANGE STITCHES ON MAROON GROUND

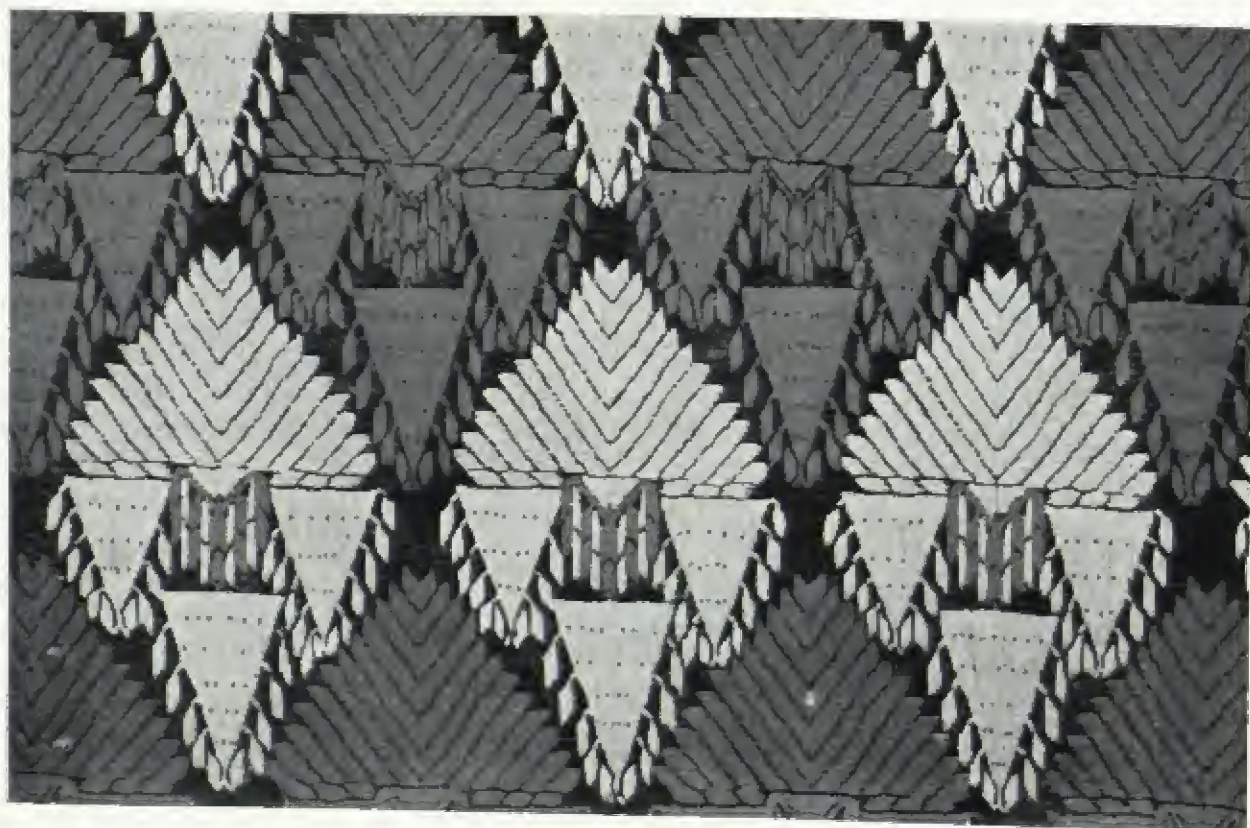


ORANGE STITCHES ON BLACK GROUND

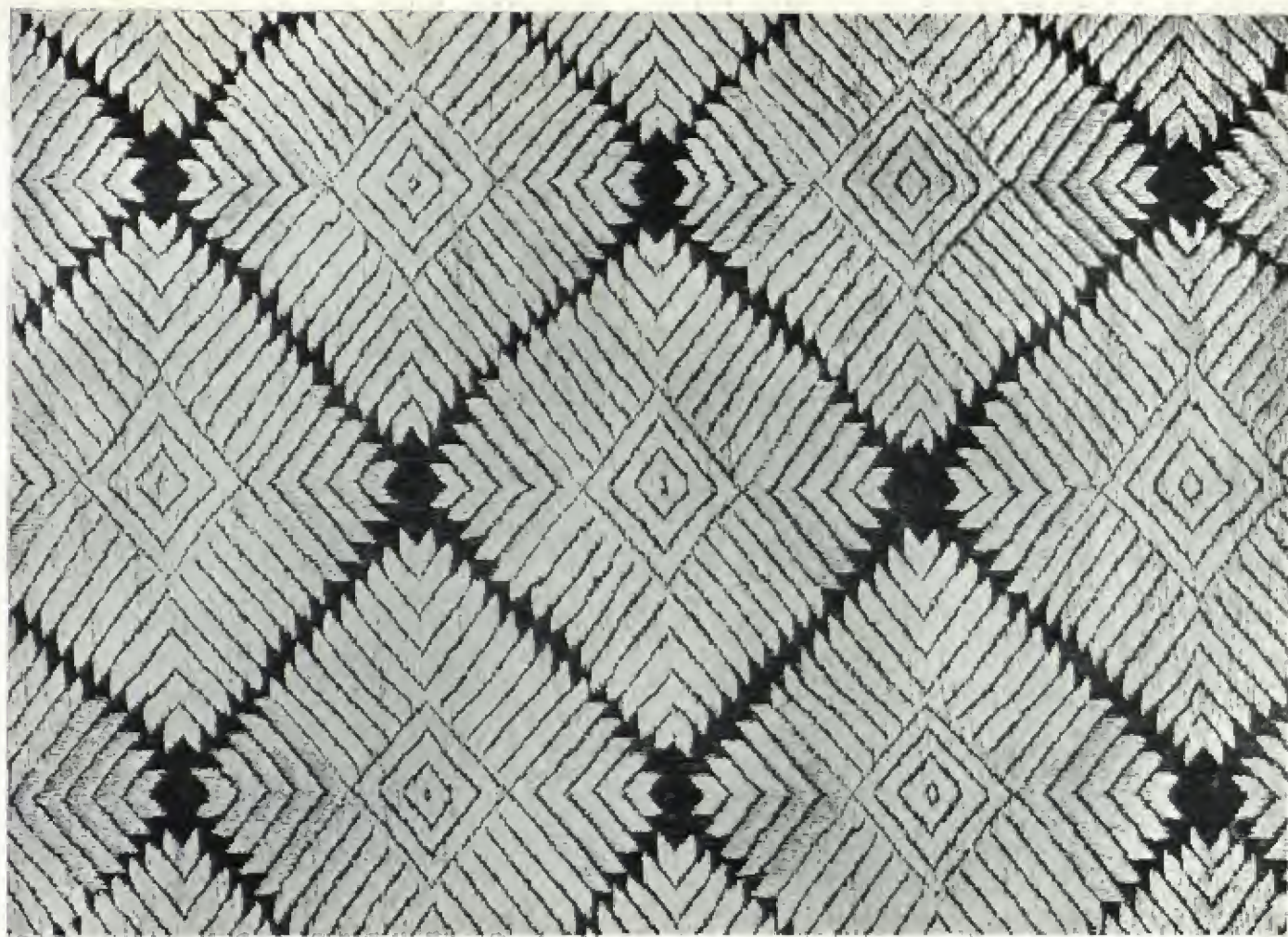
EXAMPLES OF RECENT PHULKARI WORK FROM THE ROHTAK DISTRICT
 (From *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Vol. II)



GOOD DARNING STITCH IN PHULKARI WORK, BAGH CHINTI. FROM HAZARA DISTRICT



FINE SPECIMEN OF DIAPER WORK IN PHULKARI EMBROIDERY, BAGH KAKRI. FROM HAZARA DISTRICT
(From *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Vol. II)



BAGH CHAND
FINE SPECIMENS OF PURE DIAPERING IN PHULKARI WORK FROM HAZARA DISTRICT
(From *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Vol. II)



BAGH ANAR



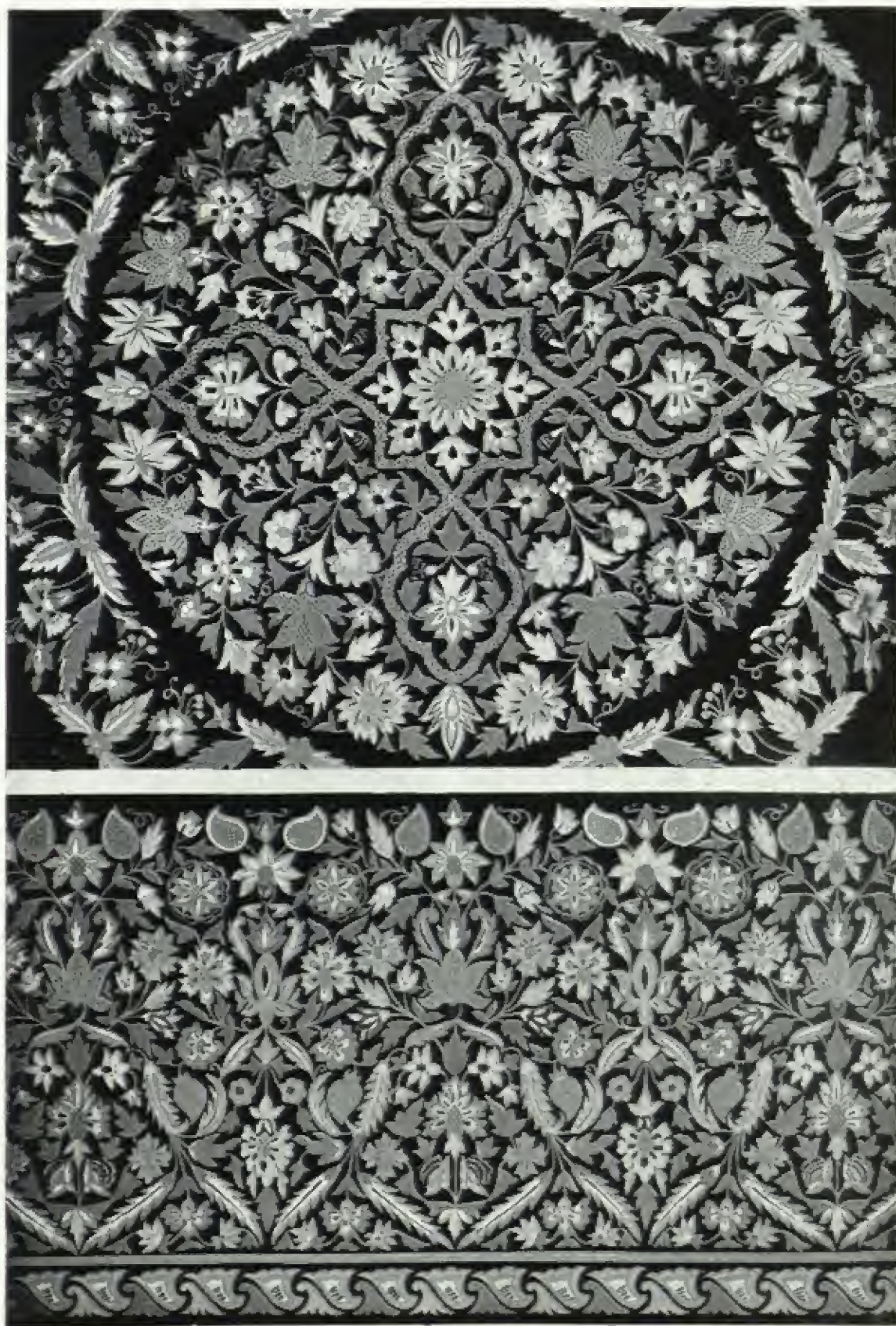
THREE EMBROIDERED HEAD CAPES
(From *Broderies Hindoues*)



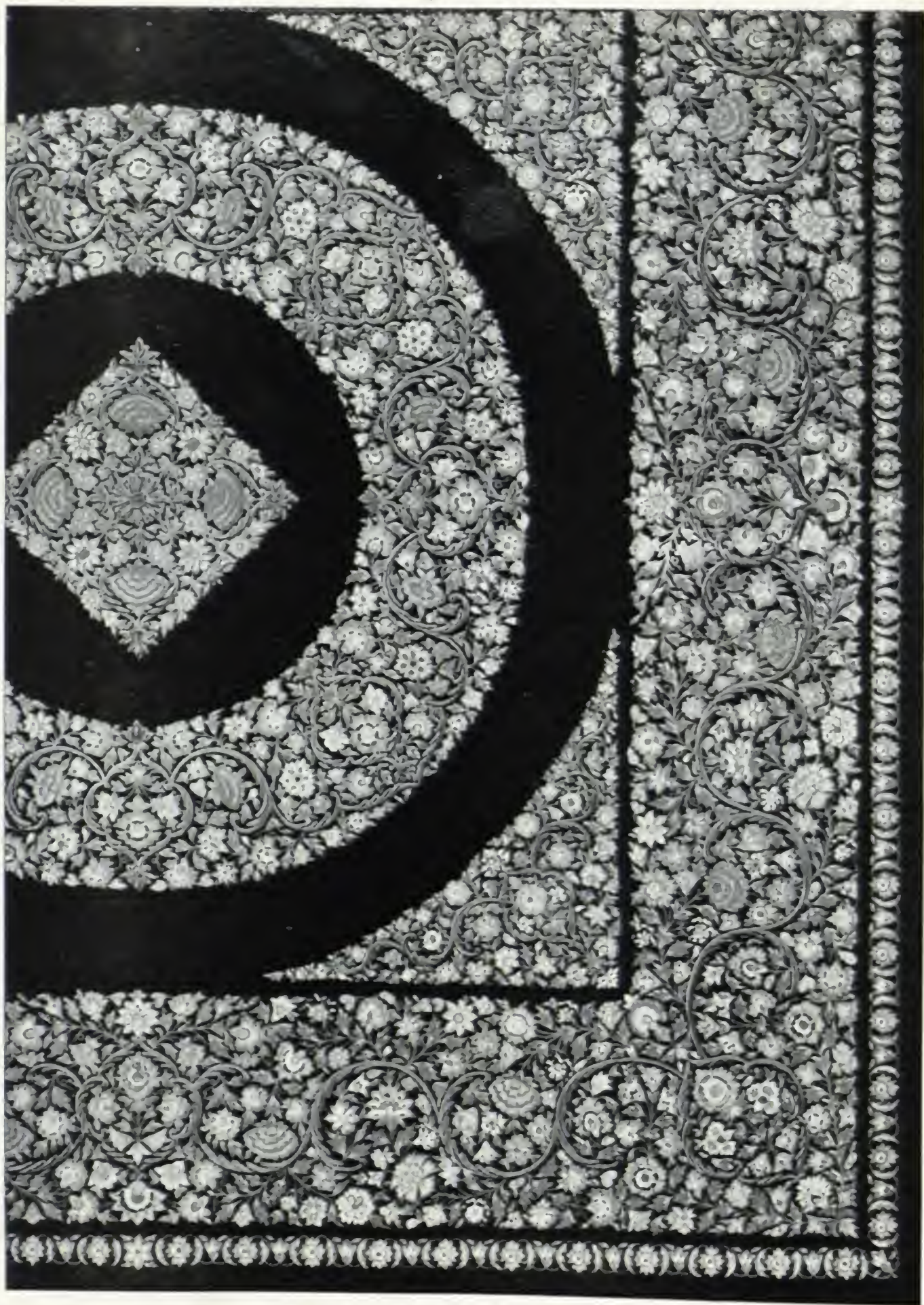
PHULKARI WORK : WHITE COTTON CLOTH EMBROIDERED WITH COLOURED FLOSS SILKS
(From *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Vol. II)





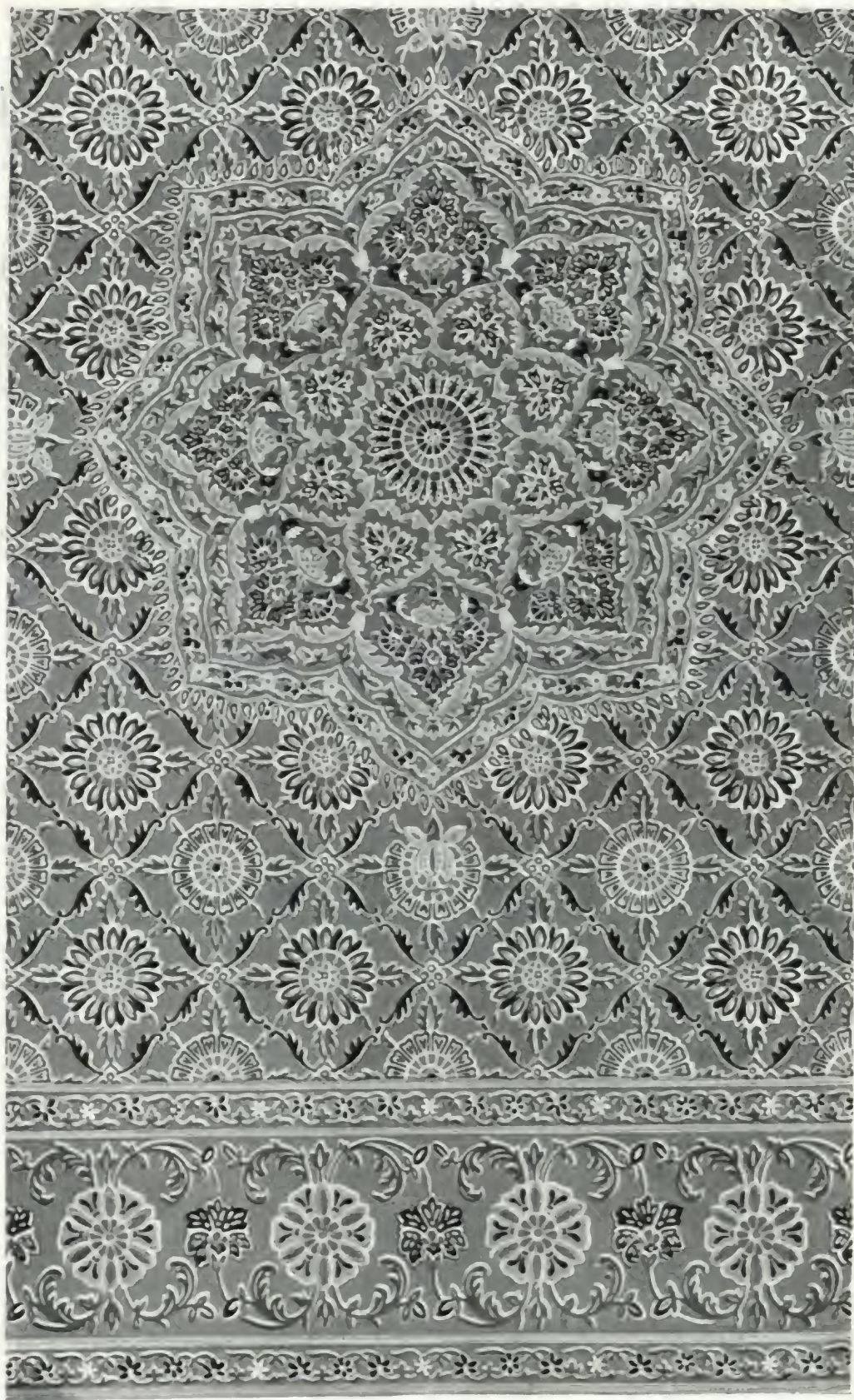


SPECIMENS OF BEAUTIFUL EMBROIDERY IN VIVID BUT HARMONIOUS COLOURS ON BLACK CLOTH
(From *Industrial Arts of the XIXth Century at the Great Exhibition* by M. Digby Wyatt)



BEAUTIFUL EMBROIDERY FROM HYDERABAD

Although embroidered by Mohammedan artisans, the design is peculiarly Hindu in style—minute, elaborate and complicated



BEAUTIFUL EMBROIDERY WORK IN BLUE, GREEN, WHITE
AND YELLOW ON CRIMSON SILK

This is a sort of appliqué work, small pieces of various materials being
cut out and sewn on the ground cloth

(From *Industrial Arts of the XIXth Century at the Great Exhibition* by M. Digby Wyatt,



EMBROIDERY IN WHITE SILK ON BLACK NET, FROM DACCA

(From *Industrial Arts of the XIXth Century at the Great Exhibition* by M. Digby Wyatt)



AN EMBROIDERED SARI FROM BIKANER

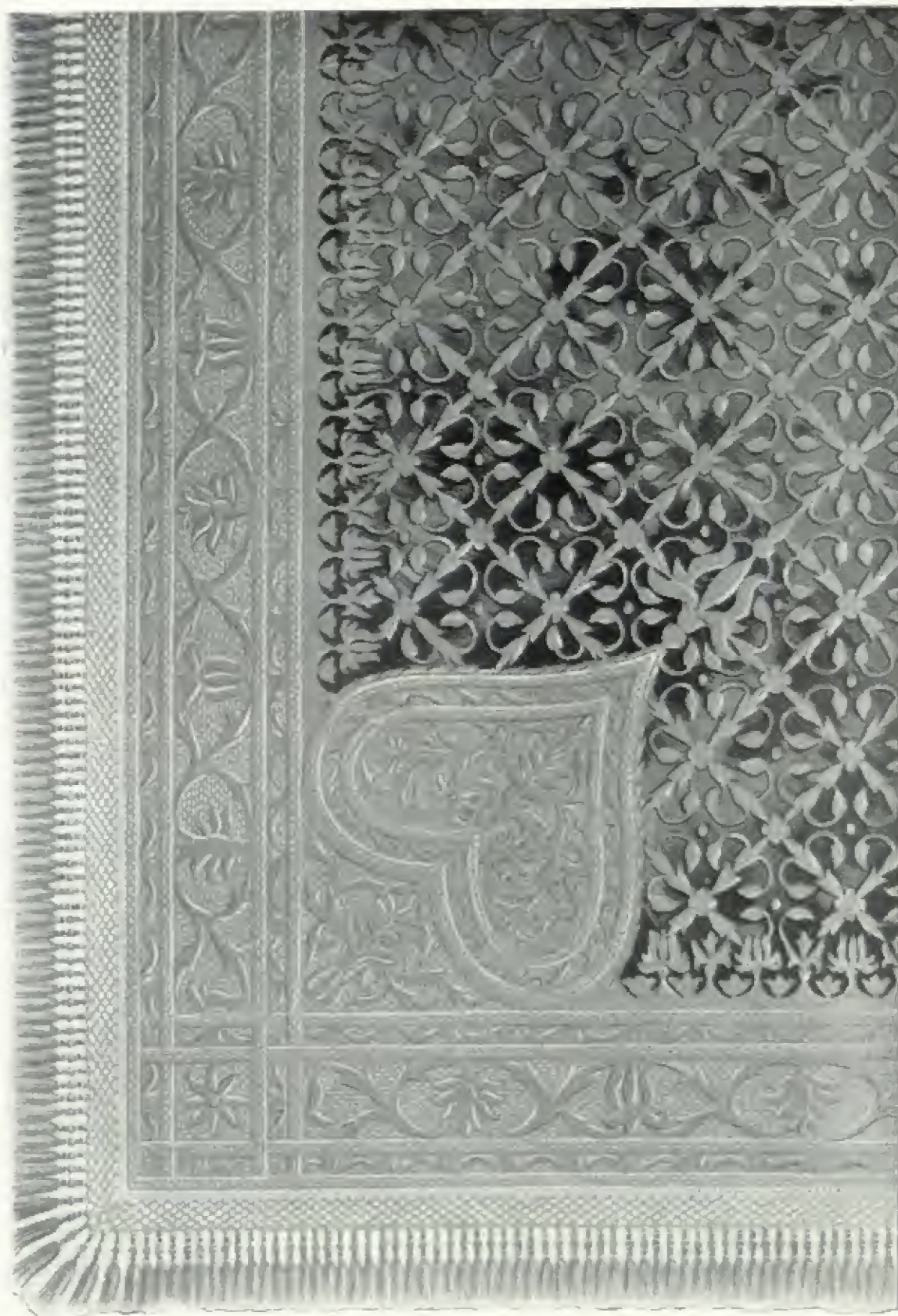
The elements of design of these saris are much the same—modifications of crosses, squares, stars and octagonal figures, with trees, birds and animals reduced to geometrical forms. There is always an economical use of wool and the stitches are not very numerous.

(From *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Vol. IV)



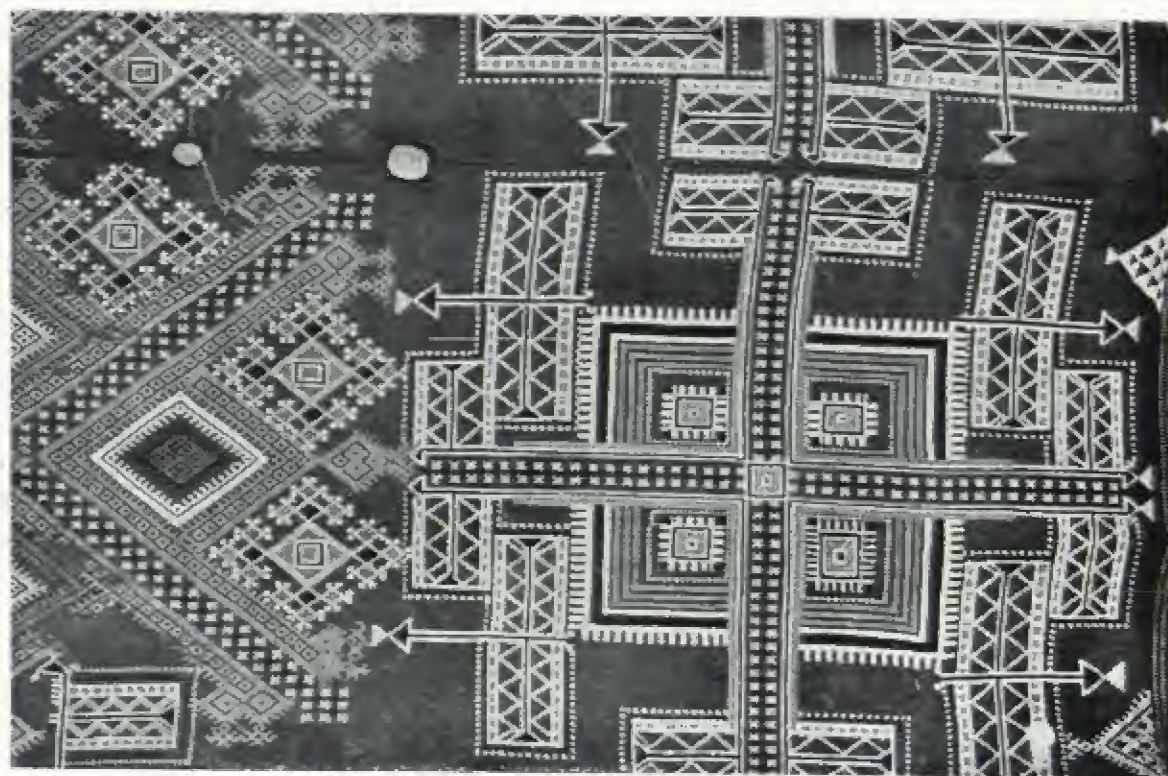
SUPERB EXAMPLE OF WOOLLEN CLOTH

Embroidered with coloured silks and gold and silver thread, 18th century.
(From *State Hermitage*, U.S.S.R.)

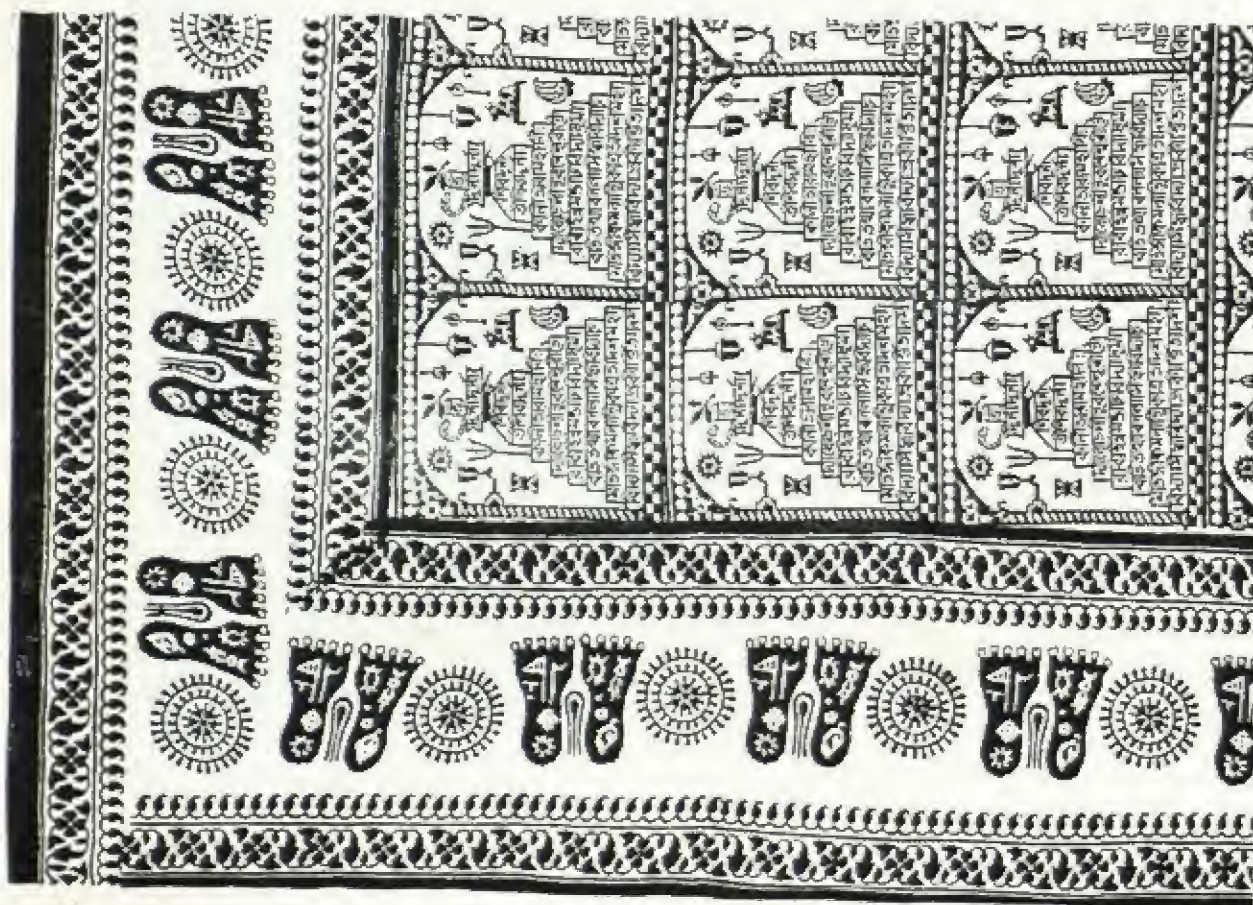


INDIAN ELEPHANT TRAPPING

A splendid velvet covering worked with gold and silver, descending from the lower part of the howdah.
(From *Industrial Arts of the XIXth Century at the Great Exhibition*, by M. Digby Wyatt)



EMBROIDERED BED SPREAD IN CROSS STITCH WORK
Bikaner 17th Century
(Bharoda Museum)



SACERDOTAL CLOTH FROM CALCUTTA

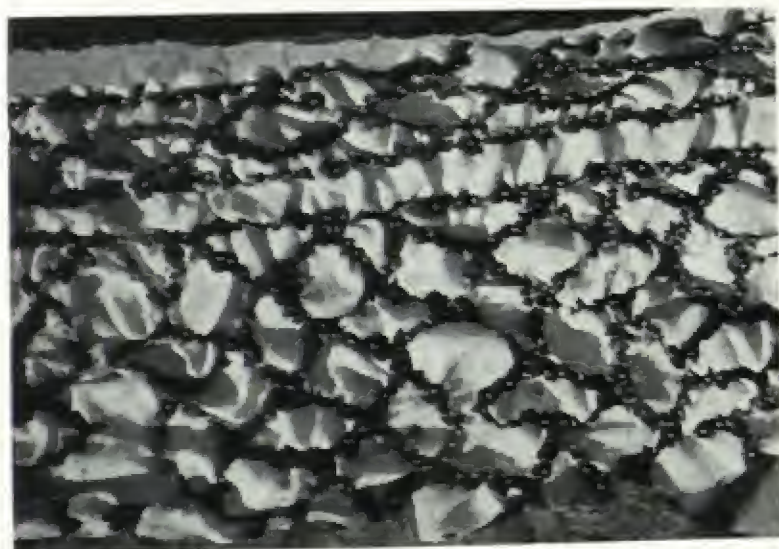
Printed in dark red and black on a saffron ground.
(From *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Vol. I)



1. TYING THE CLOTH INTO BIG KNOTS
The knotted parts remain white after dyeing



2. CLOSE-UP OF THE PROCESS OF TYING THE KNOTS
Several of which are made before dyeing



3. CLOSE-UP SHOWING THE DESIGN OF THE FINISHED
"BANDHANI"



4. CLOSE-UP SHOWING THE SMALLER AND
FINER KNOTS

BANDHANA OR TIE-DYEING AND SPOT-DYEING—I

(Photos: B. Bhansali)



5. FAMILY OF DYERS SHOWING EACH STAGE IN THE PROCESS FROM KNOTTING TO SPOT DYEING



6. THE KNOTTING IS GENERALLY DONE BY WOMEN



7. SPOT-DYEING. COTTON WOOL IS DIPPED IN COLOUR AND APPLIED TO THE CLOTH

BANDHANA OR TIE-DYEING AND SPOT-DYEING—II

(Photos : B. Bhansali)



BANDHANA SARI WITH RASALILA SCENES, AHMEDABAD
(By Courtesy of Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery)



BANDHANA WORK FROM ALWAR
Example of knot dyeing
(From *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Vol. I)



SECTION OF A PRAYER RUG OF COTTON

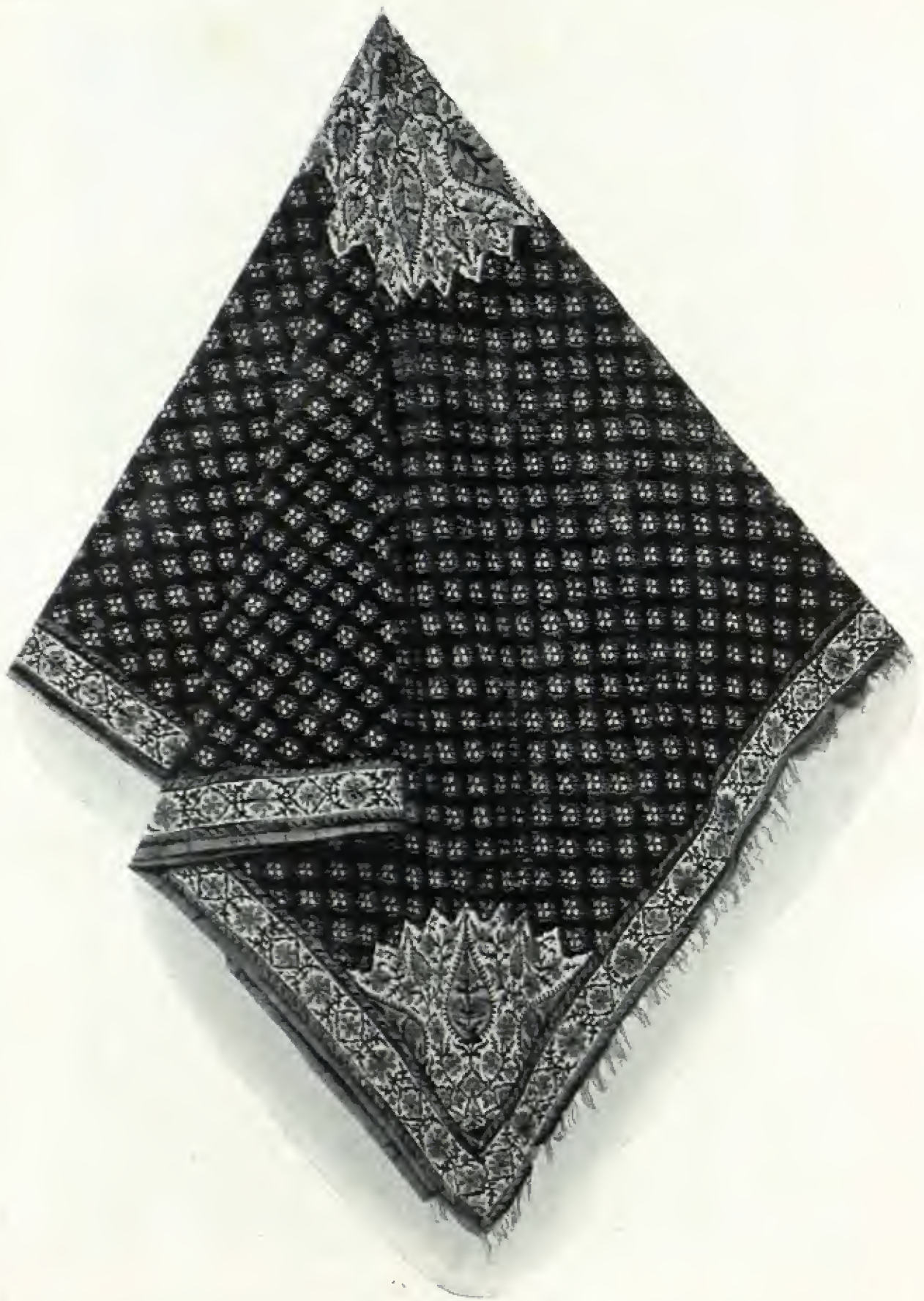
Partly hand-painted and partly block printed. Tree design among floral diaper. 18th Century.
 (From G. P. Baker's *Calico Painting and Printing in the East Indies*, by courtesy of G. P. & J. Baker Ltd., London)



HAND-PAINTED COTTON PRAYER RUG

18th century

(From G. P. Baker's *Calico Painting and Printing in the East Indies*, by courtesy of G. P. & J. Baker Ltd., London)



BLOCK PRINTED COTTON SHAWL

Floral diaper design, 18th century

(From G. P. Baker's *Calico Printing and Printing in the East Indies*, by courtesy of G. P. & J. Baker Ltd., London)



SECTION OF A HAND-PAINTED COTTON PRAYER RUG
 "Tree on Mound" and birds design. 17th or 18th century
 (From G. P. Baker's *Calico Painting and Printing in the East Indies*,
 by courtesy of G. P. & J. Baker Ltd., London)



INDIAN HAND-PAINTED COTTON WALL HANGING
18th century
(From G. P. Baker's *Calico Painting and Printing in the East Indies*,
by courtesy of G. P. & J. Baker Ltd., London)

The art of embroidery is clearly of Eastern origin and is of such ancient lineage that our knowledge of it stretches into pre-historic ages. Egyptian mummies have been found wrapped in garments curiously wrought with thin strips of gold, and if we glance at the representations of the wall paintings of Egyptian temples, we see that the robes of kings and nobles and the trappings of their chariots were embellished with needlework. The materials for embroidery in those early days were principally linen and wool, the long hair of Eastern goats and camel hair and very narrow strips of silver and gold. The Israelites excelled in the art and practised it before they settled in the land of Canaan and the Phoenicians and Greeks derived their knowledge of it from that country. It was practised in Mesopotamia in the 9th century and may have come to Bengal from there.

In China, Japan, India, Asia Minor and Arabia also the art of embroidery has been known for centuries. Roman nobles and their ladies wore embroidered robes which their Consuls sent them from the East. In Europe the earliest embroidery was developed in the Aegean Islands and reached a high degree of perfection. Wace refers to the three main sources of embroidery in the Greek islands as "Oriental, Italian and the old Levantine tradition." In the 15th Century, Milan was the city most renowned for embroidery in Europe. Catherine de Medici had in her service a Venetian, Vinciolo, who designed embroideries for her. The museum attached to the Florence Cathedral contains a series of embroideries designed by Antonio Pallaiollo, a contemporary of Squarcione who was the founder of a school of painting and was known as "tailor and embroiderer". In Europe skilled craftsmen prided in producing works of art and Europe where no artist ever remains anonymous rings with their names. In the 18th Century embroidery invaded every walk of life, "Hangings, furniture, costumes especially and even equipages—nothing escaped the avalanche of flowers in brilliant silks, of arabesques in gold and silver."

That the needle has been used in India since the earliest times is evidenced by many Vedic hymns. An invocation in the *Taithriya Samhita* runs: "I invoke with a fine eulogy Raka (full moon) who can be easily called. May she, who is auspicious (or good-looking) hear (our invocation) and understand in her heart (its meaning); may she sew her work with a needle that is unbreakable; may she bestow on us a son that is worthy and would possess immense wealth." A Rig Veda hymn says, "With never breaking needle may she sew her work and give her a son most wealthy, meet for praise." Needles have been found in the excavations at both Harappa and Mohenjo-daro. Since few Indian clothes required sewing we may safely assume that the needle was used for purposes of embellishment of a garment by embroidery.

Every fabric from the coarsest cotton to the finest Dacca muslin has been embellished with embroidery. "From Dacca," says the Abbé de Guyon writing in 1774, "Come the best and finest Indian embroideries in gold, silver, silk and those embroidered neck cloths and fine muslins which are seen in France." Needles used in Dacca were formerly procured from Basra which, with Jeddah, has always been a great market for Bengal embroidery.

In India the art probably originated with the peasant class which has contributed the best specimens. The tracts where it flourishes are largely agricultural and pastoral and their inhabitants are not required to work throughout the year. They utilise their

spare time by devoting it to the pursuit of the art which while giving them aesthetic satisfaction brings them also a subsidiary income.

Like other fine arts, embroidery reflects the cultural traditions of a people. In India, the peacock, lotus, elephant and, above all, the mango have provided inspiration to embroiderers of different times. The mango is an overwhelming favourite and variations of the design are found in different parts of the country under names associated with other objects of more or less similar size and shape, e.g., the wind-blown cypress in Kashmir and the cashew-nut (*godambi*) in the Deccan. It is also possible to trace a conqueror's influence from the art of different regions. The Karnatak, like Rajasthan, would from its embroidery, appear to have been largely untouched by Muslim influence. The motifs here are predominantly Hindu—the *tulsi* plant, gateways and arches of temples and shrines, the lotus, peacock and the figures of deities; whereas in the areas mostly affected by contact with the invader the motifs are Indo-Persian in character.

The Indian artisan is always careful to avoid a useless or wasteful ornamentation and never allows himself to forget the purpose which the article he is adorning is designed to fulfil. But it is not in this respect alone that his excellence is to be seen. He continually displays an admirable skill in the arrangement of form and colour, producing those harmonious and beautiful combinations which are to the eye what chords of music are to the ear. The subdued elegance which characterises Indian decoration never fails to please. It marks a pure and refined taste and whether it be the result of cultivation or instinct it certainly exhibits a charming obedience to the great principles of art. The Westerner is always struck by the infallible harmony produced by the Indian weaver and embroiderer in his choice of design and blending of colours. The traditional Indian patterns and colour combinations never fail to please the eye of the people of any nation.

Embroidery is a highly specialised art and calls for division of labour. Cloth printers (*chipigurs*) are employed to stamp the figures for embroidering on the *kashida* cloths (*kashidan* in Persian literally means "to draw", and in India *kashida* refers to most embroideries done with silk thread using the basic stitches of *kashida*—running, satin, stem, chain and sometimes darning or herringbone stitches). The stamps which they use for this purpose are small blocks of wood made of the khutal tree, having the figures carved in relief on one side. The dye is a red earth which is brought from Bombay and is called "Indian earth", imported from the Persian Gulf. It is mixed with gum mucilage when applied to the cloth and this is easily removed by washing. Sometimes also the figures are drawn by painters (*nagash*) in pencil on muslin and in chalk on wool, the body of the designs being copied from coloured drawings. The cloth is stretched on a horizontal bamboo frame, rudely constructed, and raised about a couple of feet from the ground, while the embroiderer sits on the floor. The Indian embroiderer, it may be remarked, always pushes the needle away from and never towards himself. In place of scissors, he usually uses a piece of glass or chinaware to cut the thread.

Embroidery stitches that came to India from the various countries of the world have been adopted with variations in different parts of the country. Satin stitch, which came from China, has been developed on entirely individual lines in Kashmir, while the darning stitch which has affinities with the embroidery from Baluchistan and the line stitch of the Middle East and parts of Europe, has developed in a different way in the Punjab, where, it produces the marvellous 'phulkari' and 'bagh' work. The 'chikan' work of Uttar Pradesh resembles the washable linen embroidery of Europe while the 'Kasuti' of the Karnatak resembles closely the embroidery of the Slav countries and Austria, Hungary and Spain, combining as it does the line, darning and cross stitches. In Gujarat and Bombay one meets with a large amount of old and modern Chinese needlework, an influence which may, at one time, have been brought here by traders and navigators. In the same way, the Kutch and Kathiawar interlacing stitch, which is to be found in Spain, may have been imported into both places by Arab traders.



EMBROIDERED SKIRT FROM GUJARAT



SKIRT IN PHULKARI WORK FROM AMRITSAR

The embroidery of Kashmir is one of the most striking in India, depending for its beauty not so much on the intricacy of the stitches as on vivid colours tastefully blended. The art is said to have been introduced there in the 15th century by Zain-ul-Abdin Shah who brought in Persian craftsmen to teach it to the natives. Persian and some Chinese influence is still discernible there, but Kashmir embroidery primarily reflects the influence of nature. It may also be said that it competes with nature's charms reflecting and, at the same time, vying with the riotous colours which nature has, with such a lavish hand, bestowed on that beautiful region of mountains and valleys. Since Muslim influence was very strong in the area the human figure is entirely absent and even animals do not figure prominently. The chenar leaf, grape, cherry, almond, iris, lily, walnut and saffron flowers predominate, as do certain birds like the parrot, kingfisher, magpie, woodpecker and canary.

Kashmir *kashida* made on both silk and wool uses basic *kashida* stitches. One outstanding feature of this embroidery is the fact that it is made with single threads giving a flat, formalised appearance to the design. The satin stitch has been adopted to cover large surfaces without pulling or puckering the cloth in any way. It has become a variation of the long and short stitch. The chain stitch is used only on inferior pieces and never on an expensive piece of work. The Indian customer sets great store by embroidery which displays the same fineness on both sides so as to make the wrong side indistinguishable from the right, and the Kashmir workman has made himself an adept at this art. Expensive, fleecy shawls of Pashmina reveal a delicacy of design and perfection of execution combined with a meticulous eye for detail which remain unmatched anywhere in the world.

One kind of work done on shawls and scarves is *rafugari* work. *Rafugari* literally means darning. It is work of high quality worked in darning stitch and involving a great deal of labour but commanding a high price. A really good piece of work with the design worked evenly on both sides takes about two months to finish.

Training for this, as for all Kashmiri arts, begins at a very early age. It is quite an experience to visit one of these workshops and watch the different grades of work done by persons of varying ages. The finest work is done by men so old that one wonders how their fingers could still retain the required dexterity; and then one realises that it requires the constant practice of all those years to produce such fine work. The outline of work on coarse materials is done by boys of six and seven years of age. The worker is usually so expert that the same piece can be worked by different persons without the least perceptible difference in finish or accuracy. All Kashmir embroiderers are men. Their daily wages average between eight annas and rupees four a day, depending on the quality of their work. Like workmen all over the country they do not sell their work individually, but are commissioned workers toiling for a fixed daily wage with no insurance of any kind.

Kashmir produces fine *namdas*, a sort of pressed felt rug which because of its cheapness and colourful embroidery commands a ready market at home and abroad. These are generally embroidered with chain stitch and have the usual Kashmir floral motifs which are necessarily very bold because of the thickness of the material. With a growing awareness of world needs, Kashmir has started producing these *namdas* in various designs, including children's motifs fit for the nursery.

Another kind of rug for which the region is famous is the chain stitch rug which is covered with chain stitch on a hessian ground, the embroidery covering the whole surface so as to make it indistinguishable from the material. Beautiful designs are executed with the usual skilful blending of colours and this article is extremely popular especially in foreign countries.

One kind of work which is an object lesson in the use of waste materials is the "gabba work" which uses up scraps of old shawls and other worn-out woollen garments. All the pieces are appliqued together with chain stitch to form an oblong rug which is used for couch covers and bed spreads.

Punjab excels in the lovely 'phulkari' work. This is worked in silk floss on cloth which is especially woven for the purpose. Great care is taken to make every thread of the material even since the beauty of the work is dependent on the evenness of the embroidery stitches. The work is usually done on oblong pieces of material about $2\frac{1}{2}$ yards long and $1\frac{3}{4}$ yards wide. The embroidery is worked on the reverse side of the cloth, giving an effect of tapestry with a silken sheen. The base is usually entirely covered with embroidery so that, according to Mrs. F. A. Steele, the embroidery "ceases to become an adjunct and becomes the cloth itself." The design is necessarily geometrical since it is done by counting the threads.

The 'bagh' design is a more elaborate development, no longer for peasant use. It is found in the Hazara district where the Jats have been converted to Islam. The outlining of the geometrical design may be effected by a residuum of ground only $1/16$ th of an inch in width. The 'bagh' has several names, e.g., Shalimar Bagh, Chand Bagh, Mircha Bagh, Dhunia Bagh, etc., depending on the motif used in the work. The motifs are usually the same, being those with which the embroiderer is familiar.

The making of the 'phulkari' is a matter of great pride to the Jats of the Punjab. As soon as a girl is born her mother starts working on one of the 'phulkari' pieces for her. The larger the number of such pieces received by a girl at the time of her marriage, the greater is the esteem in which the housewifely qualities of her mother are held. One piece is worn by the girl at the time of the *phera*, the marriage ceremony. Other pieces are used for bed covers, quilts, etc. Mrs. Steele in her article on 'phulkari' work in the Punjab writes: "To those who have seen the stalwart young Jatni of twenty, still unmarried, coming home from her father's field with a swing of russet and gold draperies matching the millet sheaf on her head, it will be a shock to think of her in white Calico arabesqued in aniline dyes."

Kutch, Kathiawar and Sindh have very similar kinds of embroidery and to the untrained eye they seem alike. The interlacing stitch commonly used here has an affinity with that of Spain and was probably brought here by Arab traders in the 9th Century A.D.

The embroidery of Kutch is said to have been taught to *mochees* (shoemakers) of this part of the country about 300 years ago by a Muslim fakir who came from Sind. Here, the motifs associated with royalty are less frequent than they are in the other two areas of Kathiawar and Sind, and are often completely absent. Kutch embroiderers use a hook. The thread is introduced from beneath the fabric which is kept tight by means of a wooden frame. Designs are large and flat and sometimes small mirrors are added to give a touch of glamour. Outlines of borders are occasionally embroidered with laid stitch or with the couching or herringbone stitch. These are embroidered in colour with the gradual introduction of coloured threads to indicate veins, stems and various twists in the motif. Chain stitch is used as the basic stitch much more than it is in the either Kathiawar or Sind.

Kathiawar and Sind embroidery is almost identical, making lavish use of small mirrors and bright colours. The stitches used are interlacing, darning, herringbone and chain. In Kathiawar the embroidery is made on articles like *nati* (child's head-dress ending in a square flap at the back), *toran* and *ghagaras*. The *toran* is a long embroidered flap or bits of flattened cloth decorating the lower edges of the pelmet. At the time of marriage a girl's clothes are tied up in these and later it is hung over the doorway as a sign of welcome. *Ghagaras*, the full skirts of Kathiawar women, are also embellished with embroidered strips of material. Trappings of cattle are another item on which the embroiderer expends his skill lavishly. Here the darning stitch has reached the exaggerated length of almost an inch.

The embroidery of Kutch, Kathiawar and Sind, like the 'phulkari' of the Punjab, is essentially a folk art owing nothing to court patronage. The most characteristic work

is on old satin skirts embroidered in brilliant silks with sprays of flowers and birds, usually parrots.

Many parts of Rajasthan and the Punjab are noted for embroidered bodices. A feature in common here with the work of Sind is the inclusion of a number of mirrors forming part of the design and held down by a circle of button-hole stitching.

Very fine chain stitch embroideries (silk or cotton) are found in Jaipur. Some of these are of Muslim design (prayer mats, etc.) but the most striking are small cushions (*gaddis*) which were used for protecting the knuckles from contact with the interior of the shield. The subjects are usually Hindu-mythological, floral, geometrical designs and animal combats.

'Kasuti' is the type of embroidery made in the Karnatak districts of Western India. The stitches used are the simplest—darning, satin and a zig-zag straight stitch, but they are so minute that the effect of the work is very intricate and pretty. As stated above, Hindu motifs predominate here and Muslim influence appears to be completely absent.

A very different art is the white 'chikan' embroidery. It is possible that the craft originated in East Bengal. It is now seen in Bhopal, Gaya, and other places, but Lucknow is the great modern centre where work of a quite remarkable beauty and distinction is done. Designs are printed from wooden blocks dipped in fugitive dyes. The stitches are varied and the work depends for its excellence on their minuteness and evenness. 'Taipchi' is a simple darning stitch used in the cheaper work; the variety called 'bukhia' is an inverted satin stitch in which the forms are merely outlined on the right side with minute stitches while the thread accumulates on the wrong side making the work opaque. This, in the West, is known as 'shadow' work; a similar effect is produced by very minute appliqué called 'katao'; lace-like trellis (*jali*) is made not by drawing out threads, but by a sort of very fine button-holing, pulling the threads aside. Raised work like tiny French knots is produced by a minute satin stitch. This embroidery is of supreme excellence comparable only with the best European laces to which it corresponds in purpose and effect.

Lucknow is famous not only for its 'chikan' work but also for the excellent quality of its gold and silver embroidery on both heavy velvets and satins and airy nets and chiffons. The famous 'kinkhab' work of the city is done on heavy velvet and was generally used for elephant clothes, *masnads* (couch covers), bolsters, etc. It was also used for waistcoats, caps and shoes to be worn on State occasions. The work is very heavy and consequently very expensive. Until recently it was in demand at the native courts, but with the integration of the States in the Indian Union, the demand has almost died out and the 'kinkhab' worker is trying his hand at lighter embroidery to fulfil popular demand.

Of the gold and silver threads and wires used for embroidery the varieties are (1) *Goola battoon* for embroidering caps, (2) *Goshoo* also for embroidering caps, (3) *Salmah* for embroidering caps, slippers, hookah snakes, etc., (4) *Boolun* for manufacture of gold lace and brocade.

For making gold and silver thread called *Kalabattoo* the following method is used. For gold thread a piece of silver about the length and thickness of a man's finger is gilded at least 3 times with the purest gold, all alloy being previously most carefully discharged from the silver. This piece of gilt wire is beaten out to the size of a stout wire and is then drawn through successive holes in a steel plate until the wire is, literally, as fine as a hair. The gilding is not disturbed by this process and the wire finally appears as if of purest gold. It is then flattened in an extremely delicate and skilful manner. The workman sits before a small and highly polished steel anvil about two inches broad with a steel plate in which there are two or three holes set opposite to him and perpendicular to the anvil, and draws through these holes two or three wires by a motion of the forefinger and thumb

of his left hand, striking them rapidly, but firmly with a steel hammer, the face of which is as highly polished as that of the anvil. This flattens the wire perfectly and such is the skill of manipulation that no portion of the wire escapes the blow of the hammer, the action of drawing the wire rapid as it is, being adjusted to the length which will be covered by the hammer in its descent. No system of rollers or other machinery could, probably, ensure the same effect, whether of extreme thinness of the flattened wire, or its softness and ductibility.

The wire is then wound round silk thread in the following manner. The silk is very slightly twisted and is rolled upon a winder. The end is passed over a polished steel hook fastened to a beam in the ceiling of the workshop and to it is suspended a spindle with a long, thin bamboo shank, slightly weighed to keep it steady, which nearly touches the floor. The workman gives the shank of the spindle a sharp turn upon his thigh which sets it spinning rapidly. The gold wire, which has been wound on a reel, as it passes behind the worker is then applied to the bottom of the silk thread near the spindle and twists itself upwards, being guided by the workman as high as he can conveniently reach, or nearly his own height, upon the thread. It is not possible, however, to describe in exact terms the curiously dexterous and rapid process of the manipulation. The spindle is then stopped; the thread now covered with wire is wound upon the spindle and fastened in a notch of the shank, when the silk thread is drawn and the spindle is set spinning with the same result as before. Certain lengths of this thread are sold to weavers for weaving into cloth and the rest is used for embroidering heavy fabrics. The flattened wire or *badla* is used for making '*kamdani*' work. The workmen who make this thread are called *bat-waiya* or *kalabattoo*—*nakad*. The weaver of the cloth with *kalabattoo* is called *tashbaff*.

'Kamdani' is another form of gold embroidery for which Lucknow is famous. This is done with flattened silver or gilt wire on lighter materials. The needle is threaded with ordinary thread which is doubled, the two ends being secured with a knot. One end of the wire is pressed at the knotted end. It is pulled through the material with the wire being pressed down at every stitch. Small dots of overlapping satin stitch are produced. The effect of this work while being rich is also dainty. Sprays, flowers, stars and a host of other designs are produced, the loveliest and most shimmering effect being produced by the '*hazara buti*' in which 1000 small dots are made from one tola of thread. 'Kamdani' work enjoys immense popularity in the fashionable world and enterprising designers, always on the lookout for new ideas, are helping to produce exquisite sarees and other articles of clothing.

A pretty variety of gold embroidery is called '*mina*' because of a slight resemblance to cloisonne enamel. The outlines of foliage are done in gilt thread while the leaves and flowers are worked in brightly coloured silk threads.

Another kind of luxury product is the '*kataoki bel*'. This is nine yards long and is used as edging for sarees. It is made of stiff canvas and the whole surface of the design is filled in with *salma* and sequins—either plain gold and silver or coloured. The redundant canvas is cut off and a lovely glittering cut-work border remains. One drawback of this is its stiffness which prevents the saree from draping gracefully and designers are now experimenting with lighter fabrics which would suit modern tastes. A variation of this is lace made on net and daintily embroidered with *salma* and sequins.

The darning stitch is a great favourite in India and the '*Dacca stitch*', so called because it closely resembles the woven motifs of Dacca sarees, is just minute darning stitch so evenly executed as to give an impression of weaving. It is common in Bengal and requires a great deal of concentration and good eye-sight to execute. It is a good example of the point where embroidery becomes indistinguishable from ornamental weaving and leaves one wondering as to which came first.

South India now abounds in embroidery of the modern type. It may be due to the influence of missionaries that this region produces quantities of articles for Western consumption. Lovely linen and organdy table cloths, tray cloths and tea cosies are made in convents and other such institutions. Lace is produced in Cochin, but this art is of modern origin and rarely goes further than the copying of European designs in inferior materials. Only recently has some lace been produced which matches inferior Venetian products and because of its comparatively low price may soon find a good market abroad.

The Indian embroiderer, like his brother craftsmen, lives and works in squalor for daily wages. His work brings him a bare living, the profit going to the man—who markets the goods. In India the goldsmith, carver, embroiderer and other craftsmen are mere artisans and not artists. Their work, to them, is just a job to be done well. They adhere mostly to fixed patterns, copying a few new ones that may be required, but never creating anything new or unusual. Muslim patronage while encouraging the arts also affected the artist and we find that whole castes and tribes have been converted to Islam. Except in predominantly Hindu States, the men who do embroidery are almost, without exception, Muslims. During the troubled days of the partition, many of them fled in panic to Pakistan, but finding no scope for the exercise of their talents thousands of them returned to work for Hindu firms as they had done for generations.

With the import and increasing popularity of machine-made goods, hand industries naturally suffered a set-back. The plight of the 'chikan' worker of Lucknow, for instance, became so pitiable that the Government encouraged the sales of these articles through its own emporiums. The delicate beauty of 'chikan' work has now caught the fancy of the fashion world and such articles enjoy an unprecedented boom. The influx of Sind and Punjab refugees into Delhi and other parts of the country has brought into many places crafts which have never been seen there before. Variations of the 'phulkari' work have been adapted to modern needs and there is a great demand for articles of household goods in these designs. The craze for Sindhi mirror work almost swamped Delhi at one time, but in accordance with the vagaries of fashion, the demand has almost died out now. With the Sindhis in India becoming a purely urban population there is a great danger of the work dying out in this country. 'Phulkari', that time and labour consuming craft, may share the same fate. The recent turning back of the Indian to the use of traditional Indian designs and patterns may save the craft for some time but how long cottage industries continued in such conditions of squalor and poverty can hope to compete with the machine remains to be seen.

Dyeing is an art the beginnings of which are shrouded in antiquity. Moses speaks of stuffs dyed sky blue, purple and double-scarlet. He also speaks of the skins of sheep dyed orange and violet. The dyes of the ancients had lasting qualities. We have mentioned before Pliny's account of the fabrics found in the treasury of the kings of Persia which had kept their freshness and lustre in spite of having been preserved for 180 years. Herodotus tells us that certain people on the borders of the Caspian Sea imprinted on their stuffs designs, either of animals or flowers, the colours of which never changed and lasted as long even as the wool of which the cloth was made. The Chinese, according to him, dyed scarlet better than any other nation. We have also spoken above of the excellent purple of the Phoenicians and the causes that contributed towards that excellence.

That the art of dyeing was known in India from the earliest times is proved by the coloured fragments of cloth and traces of madder dye found at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa. The arts of printing and dyeing of the Hindus have been greatly celebrated and the beauty and brilliance as well as the durability of the colours is worthy of particular praise.

The early esteem in which Indian fabrics were held in Europe is evidenced by the Oriental names of many Indian goods being applied to English imitations. In the management of colours, the skill with which a number of varying hues are employed and the taste with which they are harmonised, whether in cottons or carpets, silks or shawls, Europe has nothing to teach India and a great deal to learn.

Originally, only juices of shrubs and flowers were used as dyes in India. Some of these are indigo, turmeric, sappan and myrobolan. The 'al' and 'ach' yielded by different species of morinda in Central India is employed in dyeing the permanent deep red calico called *kharwa*. Different lichens from the Himalayas, roots and herbs, fruits and flowers from the Arakan and the Ocean Islands, produce dyes, all of which are worthy of attention in investigating the colours of native fabrics. The basis of the bright blue and deep red colours are known to be indigo and gum lac. Indigo is formed from the leaves of a plant which grows about two feet high and is called *Indicum*. It was brought from Lahore of which it was the staple commodity down the River Indus. Its native application is neel. The finer sort is cultivated about Agra and the colouring substance is the dregs obtained by means of water and olive oil from these leaves.

Indigo is diluted in water and mixed with Sajji Matti (Fuller's Earth), lime and molasses. Cloth to be dyed is dipped in the solution and dried. The number of times a cloth is dipped determines the depth of colour obtained.

The lightest shade of blue dyed in Indigo is known as *baizi*, since it resembles the 'baiza' or egg of a crow. Other shades such as *asmani* (sky blue), *abi* (light blue), *neela*, *adhranga* (deep blue) and *surmai* (dark or navy blue), *ferozai* (torquoise blue) and *zangari* are prepared by other processes.

The indigo of Khurja was considered the best during the Mughal period. According to Tavernier, the French traveller, Surat sold one lac rupees worth of it every year. Those working with indigo were careful to keep their faces covered leaving only the eyes open, and drank milk every hour to ward off the evil effects. Those who were in contact with it for eight days or so were so affected that all they expectorated was blue.

The gum lac or lacca of the ancients has been mistaken for a vegetable product, but is in fact an animal substance somewhat of the nature of cochineal and is the product of an insect resembling the bee, which deposits this glutinous sediment on the branch of certain trees; adhering to it it is brought to us and so bears the name of stick lac. Lac cakes are rubbed with small quantities of water in a vessel. A large quantity of water is added to dissolve the lac and *sajji-matti* is put in the whole, is well mixed and the mixture is strained. The strained off liquid is then boiled and to it is added *lodh* (*Symplocos racemosa*) powder; when the liquid is strained a second time the cloth is dipped in the liquid, boiled and dried. A permanent red colour is thus achieved.

The lightest shade of red dyed in Lucknow is *motia* and is produced on very fine cloth. The cloth is first made wet and is then dipped in a bath made up of half a dram of *shahab* (liquid holding Carthamine partly in solution but chiefly in suspension) and 40 ounces of water, and wrung out. The bath is then acidified by adding 3 drams of an infusion of mango rinds and the cloth is plunged into it, taken out, and squeezed. It is rinsed with water which has been similarly acidulated and is squeezed again.

Turmeric (*Curcuma longa*) is finely powdered and put in water. The cloth is dipped in this and is then again dipped in water containing alum or lemon. Turmeric is used for dyeing clothes for marriages and other such auspicious occasions. It yields a colour of a fleeting character only and is used generally as an auxiliary to other dye stuffs. One seer of turmeric with two seers of water generally gives an infusion of the necessary strength.

Safflower is much appreciated on account of the many simple and compound colours it produces. It contains two pigment principles, viz., safflower red and safflower yellow. The red being considered an emblem of holiness and success by orthodox Hindus is much used for wedding apparel. Variations of pink achieved by safflower are *piazi* (flesh pink), *phul gulabi* (pink), *gahra gulabi* (dark pink), and rose colour. The Dacca safflower is the best.

The Singhar (*Nyctanthes arbortistis*) or Har Singhar trees generally grow wild. The white petals of the flowers are removed and the orange are dried in the sun and boiled or immersed in hot water until the colour is extracted. The infusion is an orange colour which is very fleeting.

Yellow is also obtained from Tesu flowers (*Butea frondosa*) and flowers of Tun (*Cedrela toona*). They all produce fugitive dyes, but the use of pomegranate rind and alum as a mordant tends to give permanency to the colour yielded by the turmeric.

The Latkan tree (*Bixa Orellana*), commonly known as Annatto in English, also grows wild. It is known as 'bilati haldi'. A deep yellow and red colour is obtained from the pulp which surrounds the seed. The dye is obtained by pounding and boiling the seeds in water mixed with soda and alum.

The Al or Ack (*Morinda tinctoria*) plant is cultivated. The plants are allowed to grow for three years and attain a height of about seven feet. The dye is extracted from the finer roots. It is obtained by cutting the roots into small pieces and pounding them well until they are converted into powder, which is then steeped in water. The cloth is first mixed with Harar (Hirda) (*Terminalia chebula* or Black Myrobalan) and then dried. It is again dipped into a mixture of 4 parts of turmeric, 4 parts of *lodh* and one of alum and is then washed and dried. Pieces of Al wood are well-powdered and about $\frac{1}{2}$ seer of this powder is boiled for 3 or 4 hours with 6 seers of water. About one chatak of Dhaora flowers (*Woodfordia floribunda*) is also added. The cloth remains immersed in the mixture for three to four hours and thoroughly absorbs the red colour of the Al.

A series of shades of grey and drab are commonly produced through the agency of the Chebulic (or Black) Myrobalan (Harar) and green vitriol (*kasis*). The rind of Myrobalan contains a kind of tannin known as ellagitannic acid, $C_{14}H_{10}O_{10}$, which strongly

resembles tannic acid and gives, with ferrous salts, a white gelatinous precipitate which becomes dark blue in contact with air; with ferric salts a bluish black precipitate of ferric tannate or ink is formed. To this property is entirely due the use of the Harar fruit as a mordant for dye stuffs containing oxides of iron. As a rule, the cloth is dipped first in an infusion of Myrobalan and dried in the sun. It is then immersed in a solution of sulphate of iron, the strength of the infusion and solution depending on the required depth of colour of each shade. The chief shades produced are *gul-i-sarrai* or *sarkandai* (silver grey), *dudhia khaki* (light slate), *jastai* (grey), *dudhai kanjai* (pearl grey), *fakhlai* (dove grey), *kanjai* (smoke or ash drab).

The native red dye is *shahab* made from safflower but for permanent shades it may be Manjith (Indian madder) or Patang (*Caesalpinia sappan*), commonly known as Sappan wood, European magenta crystals are now used in place of safflower. Blue and red are combined in various proportions to produce different shades of violet, lavender (*badshah pasand* or *dilbahar*), *kasni* (heliotrope) and *sausani* (mauve).

Compound shades of red and yellow are produced by dipping the material successively in a solution of yellow dye, *shahab* and acidulate water. The colours produced are *keorai* (yellow tinted white), *kafuri* (straw), *sharbat* (light buff), *badami* (yellow buff), *chamelia* or *zafroni* (golden yellow), *champai* (saffron yellow), *narangi* (orange), *gul-e-anar* (scarlet) and *atshi* (deep red).

Yellow and blue compounds produce *pistai* (pea green), *anguri* (light canary), *gandhaki* (light yellow), *lhani* or *kotai* (parrot green), *sabz moongia* (shade of green representing the ripe grain of mung), *zamurradi* (emerald green), *mashi* (grass green), *tarbuzi* (bottle green). The substance which plays the most important part in the production of black is 'kath' or iron liquor.

Aniline dyes are imported into India from Belgium, the U.K., Austria, Germany, Holland and Italy.

The active principle in madder is alizarine which is obtained from it by a fermentative process somewhat ^{skin} to that by which indigo is prepared. After the synthetic production of alizarine from anthracene the natural source of the dye ceased very largely to be drawn upon and the cultivation of madder is now almost, if not entirely, obsolete. Turkey Red received its name from the fact that the madder root (*Rupica tinctorum*) was largely grown in and exported from Turkey and the Levant. The colour is now achieved with artificial alizarine and, in addition, there are dyes of almost every variety of shade, especially blacks, browns, purples, reds and yellows, derived from the same source.

By aniline dyes, strictly speaking, are meant only those derived from aniline and the number of these is very large. But in a wide sense (a popular one only) the term is applied to an enormous number of artificial dyes derived from a great variety of coal-tar products. The chemist refers to them all as synthetic dyes. There has been as much progress in the manufacture of these as there has been in photography.

Yarn is dyed for the manufacture of carpets and woollen fabrics. Wool is dyed in fast colour; it is boiled in the colour for some hours and is then taken out and washed and dried in the sun. The dyeing is done by the *rangrez* or professional dyer.

Silk is first cleaned by boiling in soap and water for about half an hour. It is then removed from the fire and when cold is washed in cold water. It is immediately thrown into the dye solution and is twirled in the bath until it is dyed to the required shade when it is wrung out and dried in the shade. On the first day silk acquires a light shade deepening with every successive dipping.

Cotton is first thoroughly washed and bleached and is then dyed, being later dipped in an acid bath to fix the colour. The acidity is produced by infusions of mango and tamarind. The cloth is then starched and beaten smooth with wooden clubs.

There is still an export trade in dyed cottons from Masulipatam to Persia. There the methods of dyeing are as follows:— To obtain a design, let us say, in yellow or red, the design is first drawn in hot beeswax with a soft steel wire brush and then the whole is dipped in red. The place where the wax penetrates the cloth is completely protected from the red dye, so that when it is afterwards boiled out the pattern appears in yellow on red. In the sameway, by repeated waxings and dyeings, a very complex design can be prepared in several colours. Very often materials are prepared for colouring by pounding the design through pricked paper stencil plates. The designs here are of Persian character, perhaps because the demand for these is great in the export market.

Knot-dyeing known as *chunari*, is essentially a Rajput art but it has spread to a number of places in North India with slightly differing patterns and methods. The patterns are known as *Ekbandi*, *Chaubandi* and *Satbandi* and are composed of single specks, four, and seven specks respectively. The 'shikari' pattern is that in which are represented figures of men and animals. *Kacha chunaries* are printed with fleeting dyes while *pucka* ones retain their original colour after many washings.

For the *pucka chunari* the cloth has first to be washed. Then 2 chataks of khara (saline earth) is mixed in cold water with the same quantity of castor oil and the cloth is soaked in the preparation at night and dried by day for 10 to 15 days successively. It is then washed in the river and exposed to air. When dried, figures are drawn in geru (red chalk) and the cloth is given to tyers who tie it on the lines of marking. The cloth is dampened and pressed over a block on which the design is worked out in raised nails which push up the material in the same pattern. The cloth is lifted off and the raised portion is caught by the forefinger and thumb nail of the girls who do the work. In many cases the raised block is dispensed with and the tyer "will work rapidly and outline a bird, a horseman or a flower and pass over certain points in the design that require to be tied at a subsequent stage, while carrying on a heated controversy with a neighbour or attending to her infant child," thus says a European observer. Many yards of thread are required for this trying.

The parts to be dyed yellow are dipped in a mixture of haldi (turmeric) and chhach (buttermilk) and those to be dyed green are dipped in a mixture of haldi and indigo. Al and alum are mixed and boiled. Al, alum and cold water are mixed separately and allowed to stand until the Al has yielded its coloured properties. The two solutions are mixed and the cloth is allowed to soak in them for three days. It has now the colours green, red and yellow. If indigo is also required the cloth is sent to the indigo dyer and is then washed in the river and allowed to dry. The pattern now has four colours with white edging where the cloth was held by thread.

Pali, Jodhpur, Jaipur, Alwar, Indore, and Ajmer all have this industry. The patterns of other cities are bolder and in green and red combinations. These are great favourites of the newly married girl during the rainy season. From the term 'bandhana' (tying) comes the name 'bandana' for spotted handkerchiefs.

The use of colour is widely prevalent in India. Certain colours are considered auspicious and others are held to be inauspicious. Religion and custom both require the use of certain colours on certain occasions. Among the Hindus, red and yellow are regarded as manifestations of happiness and joy. No Hindu *puja* (ceremony) may be performed without the use of these in some way. *Kalawa* (cotton thread dyed red and yellow) is used on all happy occasions. It is tied on the wrist during *puja* and is used extensively during the marriage ceremony. Both bride and bridegroom wear red and yellow and their hands and feet are dyed with henna. The modern bridegroom has revolted against the latter custom, but once in a while he yields to public opinion and allows the nail of his little finger to be coloured. Sindur (red lead) is used by orthodox Hindu women in the parting of the hair to denote the married state and it plays an important part in marriages and on other festive occasions.

Black is regarded with abhorrence and there are positive prohibitions in Hindu religious books regarding the use of black dye, especially indigo. The Code of Manu says, "He, *i.e.*, a Brahmin, must avoid (selling) all dyed cloth. . . . (and) indigo (and) lac. . . .". S'loka 9,2 of the same chapter forbids the selling of lac. "By (selling). . . . lac a Brahmin at once becomes an outcast." In the *Apastamba Smriti Adhiya VI* we find extreme penances prescribed for those who have any dealings with indigo. "Whoever cultivates indigo, sells it or makes profit from it becomes an outcaste and becomes purified after keeping 3 'Krichayan' brats (fasts). Albutions, alkis, or charity, prayers, study, shradas and panch mahayaga are all fruitless to him who wears blue dyed apparel." A piece of land on which indigo grows is declared impure for twelve years and that refers to anything cultivated on it for twelve years after the cultivation of indigo. No Hindu woman whose husband is alive is supposed to wear white or black clothes.

Sarees are dyed with fugitive dyes so that every time the clothes come back from the wash they can be dyed a different colour, giving an illusion of variety; colour is associated with most festivals, the colour of Basant being the bright yellow of the mustard flower and the rather Bacchanalian festival of Holi has, as its main amusement, the sprinkling of coloured water.

Among the Muslims, Hanafi Law prohibits use of cloth coloured by saffron and safflower for men but not for women. There are no other prohibitions of colour but custom has brought in a variety of taboos and enforcements which are as numerous as those of the Hindus. The Shias use the colours green, blue, white, purple and black during the period of mourning for the martyrdom of Hussain, the grandson of the Prophet. The use of *pan* (betel leaf) which imparts a red colour to the lips and henna which tints hands and feet red in dispensed with during the month of Muharram. Red and yellow are worn by them on Nauroz, the Persian New Years' Day, to indicate rejoicing. The rest of the Muslims also use black and white as colours of mourning and red and yellow on festive occasions. The influence of Hinduism is very great and the Kalawa and henna are as auspicious with one as with the other. Married Muslim women also avoid the use of white clothes, especially the *dupatta* or veil and dye their clothes with fugitive dyes.

This extensive use of colour provides a livelihood to a set of dyers known as *rangrez*. These in many parts of the country are Muslims. They are known as sheikhs and are lower in status than other sheikhs. They have very fixed rules for marriage and will not easily intermarry. A child of a mixed marriage will lose caste. Professional dyeing is generally done by males who are sometimes obliged to take up other jobs in order to be able to maintain their families. Like other artisans, dyers are also very poor and do their work under appalling conditions.

The dyer's skill in the craft, however, can never be questioned and anyone who has seen the sarees and other garments fluttering in the breeze in front of dyers' shops or houses cannot help admiring the consummate skill displayed in the blending of colours to produce the required shade. A remarkable yet common feat is the colouring of *panch rangi* and *sat rangi* sarees or *dupattas*, achieving a rainbow effect by the use of five or seven colour stripes. The shades are usually pastel and are used so skilfully that they just touch one another, never spreading in any direction. Other effects are achieved by dyeing the whole garment one colour and then superimposing thin stripes of different colours to form squares, zigzag or straight line patterns. Sometimes the dyer also becomes the printer and with crude wooden blocks stamps flowers or plants all over the material. Always an artis the usually rounds off the finished product by mixing *abrak* (mica or talc) with the colour, this giving a shimmering touch of glamour to the garment.

Modern demands need modern methods and in the big cities all over India, dry cleaning firms have sprung up which combine dyeing with their cleaning activities. They usually pass on the garment to be dyed to the ordinary *rangrez*, but their contribution lies

in producing colours which modern fashions require and which were unknown in India before. They either import the requisite dyes or they learn the combinations that produce shades subtle enough to satisfy the most fashion-conscious customer.

One contribution of India to world culture has been in the field of cloth printing. It is difficult to say whether embroidery or printing came first in India since the embellished robes on early Indian figures could have been the result of either. Since cotton was the chief manufacture it was only natural that the printer should use it as a medium for displaying his skill. Calico printing started at an early date and during the period of Muslim rule a large number of artisans moved from Kanauj to Farrukhabad which is now one of the main centres of cotton printing in North India.

Calicoes are printed in two different styles: (1) Superior 'telchol' style in which cloth is bleached through the agency of an emulsion made from mixed vegetable oils (2) Inferior 'Katha' style in which cloth is left unbleached.

In the first style, cloth is cut into pieces of six to seven yards. Twenty pieces of cloth are taken at a time. These are handed to the tanner (*telchala*) who dips them in a mixture of finely powdered sheep dung and water in a large circular earthen pot (*nand*) sunk in the ground, and tramples on them with his feet, in order that the solution may be uniformly absorbed by the pieces. The weight of the dung used is $\frac{1}{2}$ lb for twenty pieces. The pieces of cloth are left in the vessel overnight. Next morning they are passed to the washerman who washes them in clear water and, after drying, returns them to the tanner for bleaching. Five to seven pounds of castor oil (or castor and sesamum oils in equal parts) and 2 ounces of native alkali (*rassi*) are mixed in the *nand*. A small quantity (about 2 ozs) of powdered sheep dung is then thrown into the emulsion and water is added. The pieces are dipped into this solution, well rubbed under the feet and, after being wrung out, are packed together in a piece of cloth and left on the ground for three or four days, the unused solution being left in the vessel. On the fourth day the pieces are spread out in the sun and when perfectly dry, are again dipped in the solution, wrung out and exposed to the sun. This process is continued for ten or fifteen days. Bleaching is complete when the material becomes perfectly white. The cloth is now returned to the printer who makes a preparation of the following ingredients which are first powdered and then ground in a *chakki* (between grind-stones): myrobalan (Harra), *Terminalia bellirica* (Bahera), flowers of *Anogeissus latifolia* (Dhawai), root of *Nardostachya jatamansi* (Balchar), coconut (Kopra), root of *Hedychium spicatum* (Hapur Kachri), root of *Cyperus rotundus* (Nagur Motha). This with a little water is made into balls of about $\frac{1}{2}$ lb each. These are kept ready and when required are thrown into a vessel containing enough water to dip five pieces in. The pieces are then plunged into the liquid, wrung out and dried in the sun. The myrobalan forms a permanent black colour, subsequently used for printing.

Each piece is now cut in half so that the length becomes 3 to $3\frac{1}{2}$ yards, and the two pieces are joined together to double the width. The pieces are handed over to the *kundigar* or clubman who spreads them on blocks of wood embedded in the ground and beats them well with a club (*mungrī*). The cloths are now ready for printing.

A light bamboo frame called *tathia* or *tatti* is placed in a round earthen vessel called *gaddi* which contains the dye. A piece of coarse flannel is placed over the *tathia* and another piece of markin (coarse white cloth) over the flannel, the *tathia* being sufficiently flexible to give easily when pressed with the block, and to allow the cloth to sink to the surface of the liquid dye below. The cloth is stretched for printing on a bench covered with one or two dozen layers of some coarse cloth in order to serve as a pad. The printer sits on the ground before the bench and holds the block in his right hand. It is pressed on a piece of cloth overlaying the frame work and takes up the dye; it is then placed firmly on the cloth to be printed and is given three taps from above with the closed fist of the right hand. The pattern is printed all round in short pieces to make the border. Any patterns to be done

in black are printed next. The cloth is next given to the tanner for washing in running water to take off the resist paste. The pieces are next folded and clubbed smooth by clubmen.

For 'katha' style the cloth is washed, the starch is removed completely by dipping the cloth in a mixture of *reh* and water. When dry it is boiled in a copper vessel full of water and is again washed. Myrobalan is applied as in the case of the 'telchol' style. The outlines of the patterns are printed with a mixture of red ochre and black. It is boiled with *majith* in the 'telchol' style. Coarser materials for quilts (*lihafs*), *shamianas*, etc., are made in this way.

Indian chintzes of inferior variety are used only by village women and those of lower classes for making *ghagaras*, petticoats and *pharias*. There is a great demand in Nepal for Indian chintzes of better quality made on *malmul*, long cloth, *nainsukh* and such other fabrics. Sometimes the patterns are sent from the state with orders for their making.

Until a few years ago there was a great demand for gold and silver leaf printing on cotton cloth for use in *palki* coverings, *pardahs*, *lihafs*, *patkas* and *toshaks*, for *dupattas* for the Muslim bride and for the newly married girl. Now the demand exists only in villages and with modern fashions creeping in it is fast dying out. For this type of printing gum arabic, *berozza* and chalk are mixed together and boiled in double their weight of water, until the mixture is reduced to two-thirds its original weight. Another mixture is prepared by boiling Methi (*Trigonella foenum-graecum*) with 4 ounces of water, the refuse being thrown away after boiling. The two preparations are then mixed together to form the printing liquid. Patterns are stamped with this mixture with wooden dies. A pad of cottonwool tied loosely in a piece of cloth is placed on strips of gold or silver leaf. The strips adhere to the pad and are then laid over the patterns traced in the above manner. The leaf adheres to the gummy lines of the pattern stamped and comes away from the unstamped surface. The cloth is then rubbed over with a burnisher called *duali*, which gives brightness to the metal.

Imitation silver foil and glue are pounded together with a little water. The mass is then boiled in a pint of water and 4 ounces of dhauman gum is dissolved in the liquid. The printer takes a small amount of this mixture by means of a bamboo spatula (*patti*) on the palm of his left hand. The stamp is first applied to the liquid on the palm and then pressed on the fabric. When all patterns are printed in this way, the cloth is dried and rubbed over with the *duali* which imparts a brilliant lustre to the printing and a gloss to the cloth.

Cloths are usually printed in bright colours, the favourite being a combination of red and yellow. They are used by Muslims as *dastarkhawns* (tablecloths) and *jazims* (couch or floor coverings). The cloth lining the interior of tents is also usually printed in the same colours. Indian hand-prints employ the typical Indian colour combinations of red and yellow, yellow and green, red and green, etc., and do not cater to modern tastes. Modern tastes require subtler blending of colours and different styles. With the progress of nationalism however there has been a trend towards a modified form of the traditional Indian designs. Farrukhabad printers have managed to blend old designs with new colours and now quilts, curtains and other printed household goods of that town command a ready market and are greatly appreciated even by foreigners.

The printer, like his brother artisans, lives and works in extremely unhygienic conditions, is extremely ill-paid, undernourished and poverty-stricken. Like the *rangrez* he is also a Muslim and is placed on the lowest rung of the Muslim social hierarchy. He maintains strict caste regulations and is, to all intents and purposes, a Hindu. Like the *rangrez* he finds the competition with mill-made goods too stiff and is forced to turn to other jobs to earn a bare livelihood.

The fashionable trend for printed cotton as well as silk and georgette and chiffon sarees has urged the industry to improve its patterns and methods. The high import duty on foreign cloth has aided progress and now material is printed in Bombay which can compete with any imported ones. Satisfying fashions craving for variety has introduced a new element into Indian crafts a spate of designers. Indian designs have always had a more or less set pattern and the designer has not played an important part in the industry for centuries. But with the impact of the West and the craving for variety, new designs are springing up by the hundreds. Persian designs bearing arches and flower and bird motifs are great favourites, but so are sarees covered with small human faces and figures, hunting scenes and other motifs which would be unheard of in a Muslim piece. The Indian designer has a tremendous field for experimentation and we can safely assert that the twentieth century will mark a great turning point in Indian crafts.

The same variety and experimentation marks the printing of mill-made cotton fabrics. Competition with Western fabrics is helping to produce agreeable designs in fast colours. The mills of Bombay, Ahmedabad and Sholapur and those of Bangalore in the South especially, are turning out prints which though still far from perfect, are improving rapidly and occasionally achieve such perfection that it is not possible to distinguish an indigenous piece from one of foreign manufacture.

Until the 18th century the art fabrics of India had enjoyed undisputed supremacy for 2000 years. Pali literature presents a rich picture of the textile art of the Buddhist period, including the famous fabrics of Banaras known as *Kaseyyaka*, worth a hundred thousand silver pieces and the woollen blankets of Gandhara of a bright red colour, the manufacture of which is carried on to this day in the mountainous recesses of the Swat Valley. Indian silks and muslins under the name of *Textilis ventalis*, woven air, were exported to Rome and prized as articles of luxury. In the 7th century Bana refers to costly textiles manufactured by the tie-and-dye process in a variety of designs, to silk and linen, cloth fine as the serpent's slough and to pearl-embroidered fabrics of special make. In the 10th century Indian textiles of Gujarat manufacture were carried by the Arab traders to Egypt; some valuable specimens of these bearing hunting scenes and swan pattern have been discovered at Fostat in the old capital of Egypt. The famous patola (silk) sarees of Gujarat were perfected during this period and exported to Java and Bali. As we have seen above Indian textiles developed along traditional lines during the Sultanate Period until the 16th Century when under Mughal patronage, the art burst forth with renewed vigour.

India being, on the whole, a hot country it was natural that the manufacture of cotton should attract most attention and be developed to a fine art. Indian muslins have been justifiably famous through the centuries and the Dacca weaver unquestionably occupied the first place having never been beaten either in India or abroad. A whole piece of muslin manufactured for the use of royalty, it is said, was packed in a hollow bamboo tube, lacquered and gilded, and after being taken in procession through the town was sent to Delhi or Agra for the use of the Imperial household. The delicacy of the king's muslin, *malmal khas*, earned for it, as we have seen above, such poetic names as *Abrawan*, 'running water'; *baft hawa*, 'woven air'; and *shabnam*, 'evening dew'. The *chef d'oeuvre* of the Indian weaver was the *jamdani* or the loom figured muslin which with the exquisite delicacy of manipulation and their complicated designs constituted the most expensive production of the Dacca loom. A good description of *jamdani* weaving is given by Taylor in his book *Descriptive and Historical Account of the Cotton Manufacture of Dacca*:

✓ "In manufacturing figured muslin two weavers sit at the loom. They place the pattern, drawn upon paper, below the warp, and range along the track of the woof a number of cut threads equal to the flowers or parts of the designs intended to be made; and then with two small pointed bamboo sticks they draw each of these threads between as many threads of the warp as may be equal to the width of the figure which is to be formed. When all the threads have been brought between the warp they are drawn close by the stroke of the lay. The shuttle is then passed by one of the weavers through the thread; and the weft having been driven home it is returned by the other weaver. The weavers resume their work with their pointed bamboo sticks, shuttle in the manner above described, observing each time to pass the flower threads between a great or less number of the threads of the warp in proportion to the size of the design to be formed."

The standard quality of the yarn used in the manufacture of muslins intended for the court of Delhi is said to have been 150 cubits of length per 1.75 grains of weight. A spinner devoting a whole morning to the spindle was able to spin at most 90 grains of fine



TWO SUPERB EXAMPLES OF PATOLA, SILK MARRIAGE SARIS, FROM SUKAT

The cloth is woven with warp and weft which have been separately tied and dyed by the Bandhani process

(From *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Vol. I)



HAND-PAINTED COTTON PRAYER RUG

18th century

(From G. P. Baker's *Calico Painting and Printing in the East Indies*,
by Courtesy of G. P. & J. Baker Ltd., London)



SKIRT MADE IN EUROPE OF INDIAN HAND-PAINTED COTTON

Floral design, 17th or 18th century

(From G. P. Baker's *Calico Painting and Printing in the East Indies*,
by courtesy of G. P. & J. Baker Ltd., London)



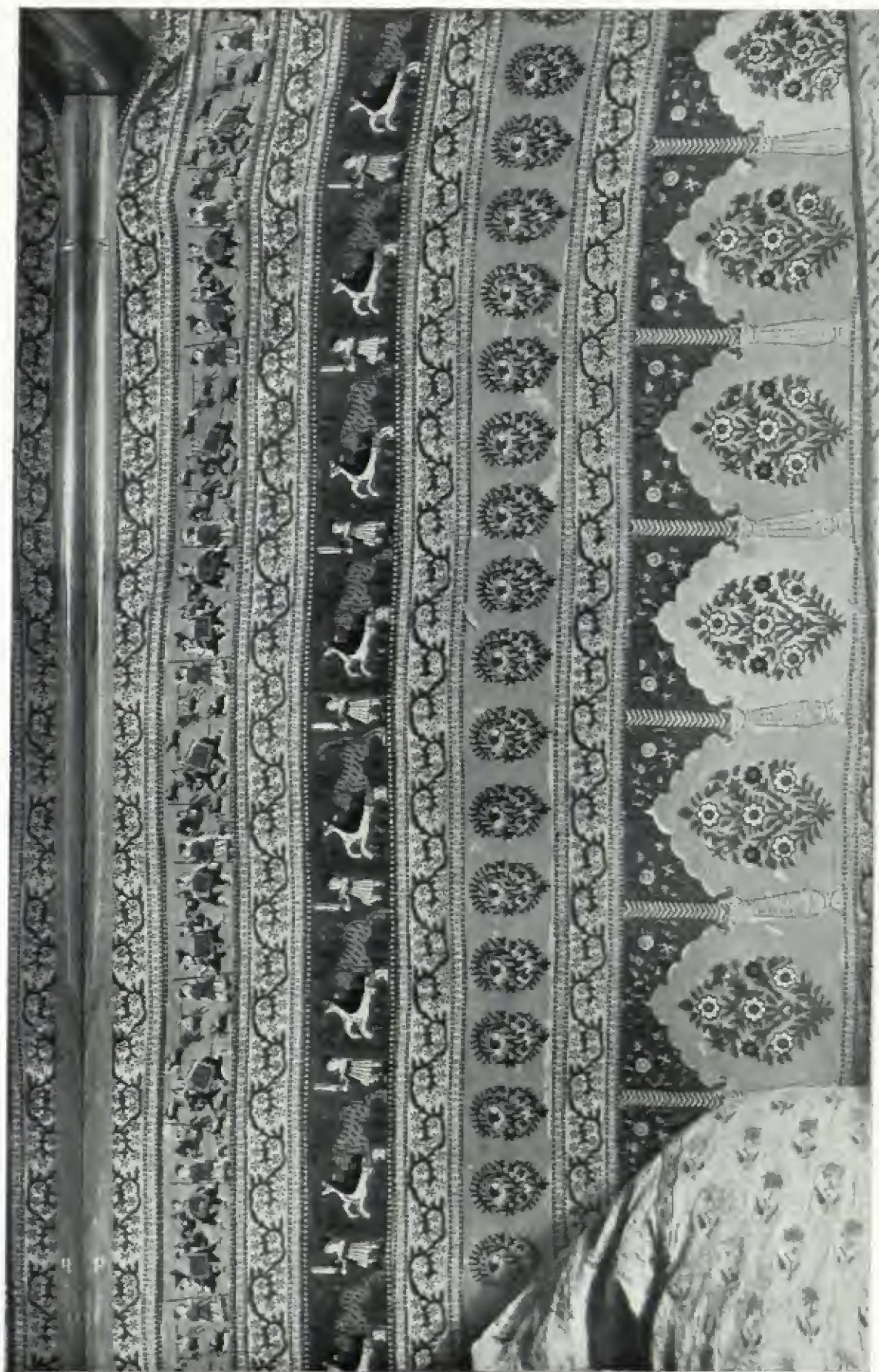
FROCKS MADE IN EUROPE OF INDIAN HAND-PAINTED COTTON

17th or 18th century

(From G. P. Baker's *Calico Painting and Printing in the East Indies*, by courtesy of G. P. & J. Baker Ltd., London)



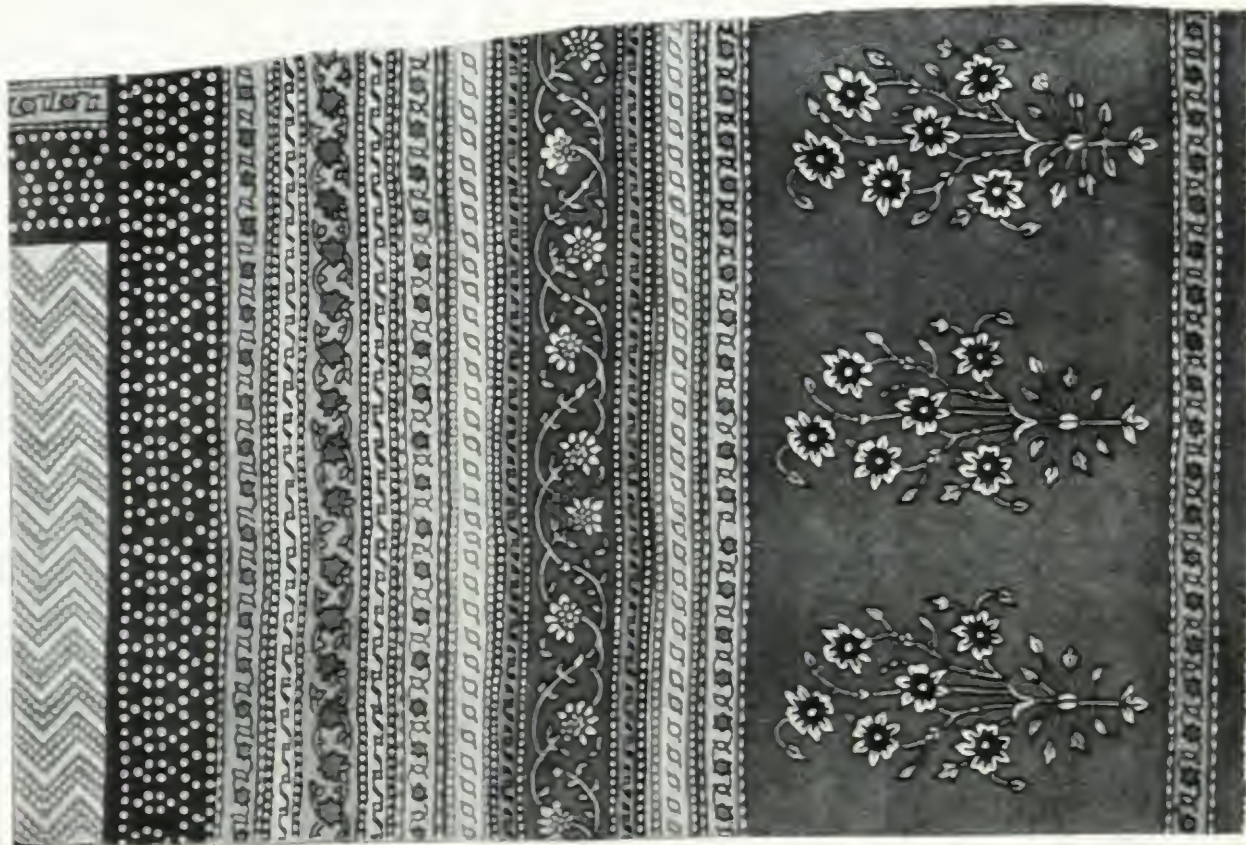
PRINTED RAZAI WITH FLOWER DESIGN, AGRA, 16th century
(By Courtesy of Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery)



COTTON CARPET PRINTED WITH HUNTING SCENES, JAIPUR, 19th century
(By Courtesy of *Bharata Museum and Picture Gallery*)



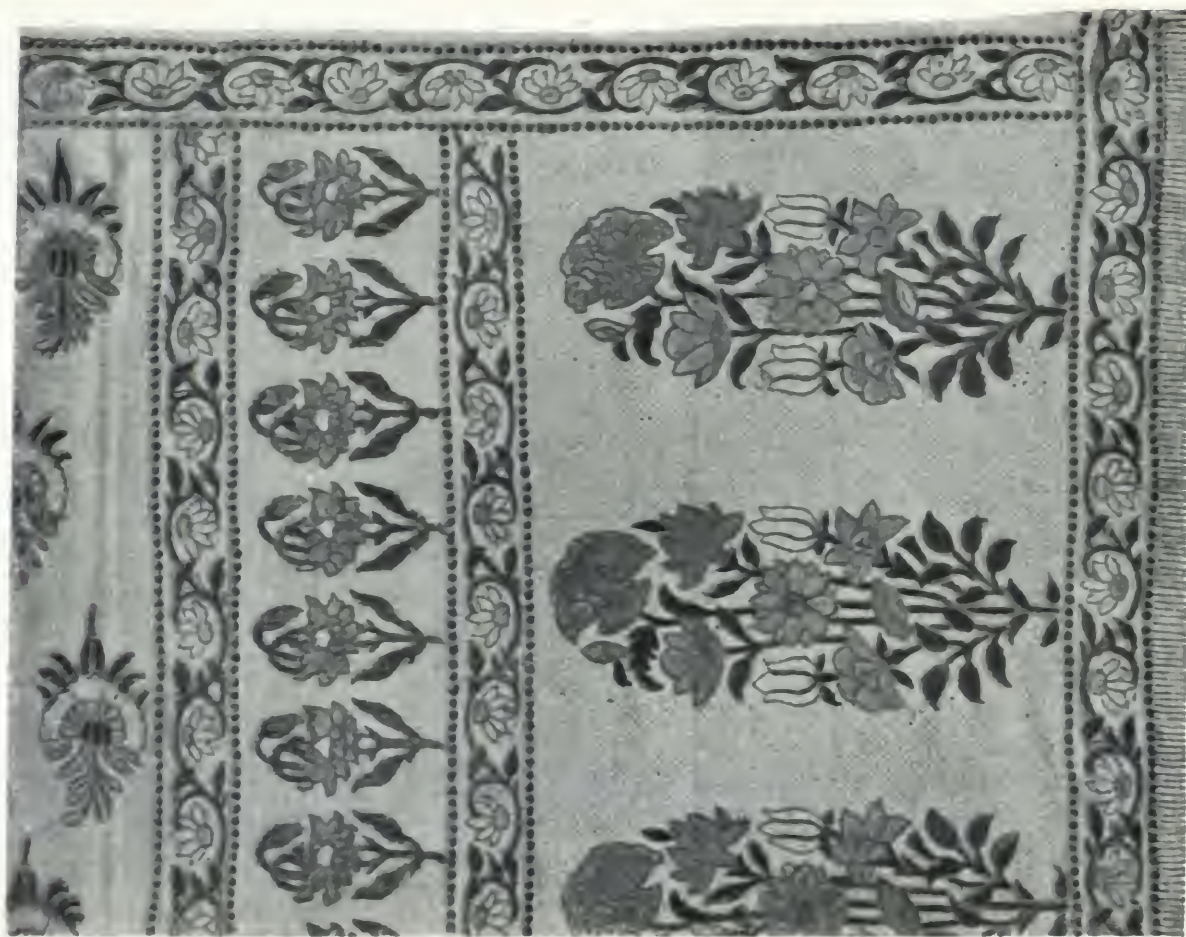
EXAMPLES OF CLOTH PRINTED IN COLOUR
(from *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Vol. VII)



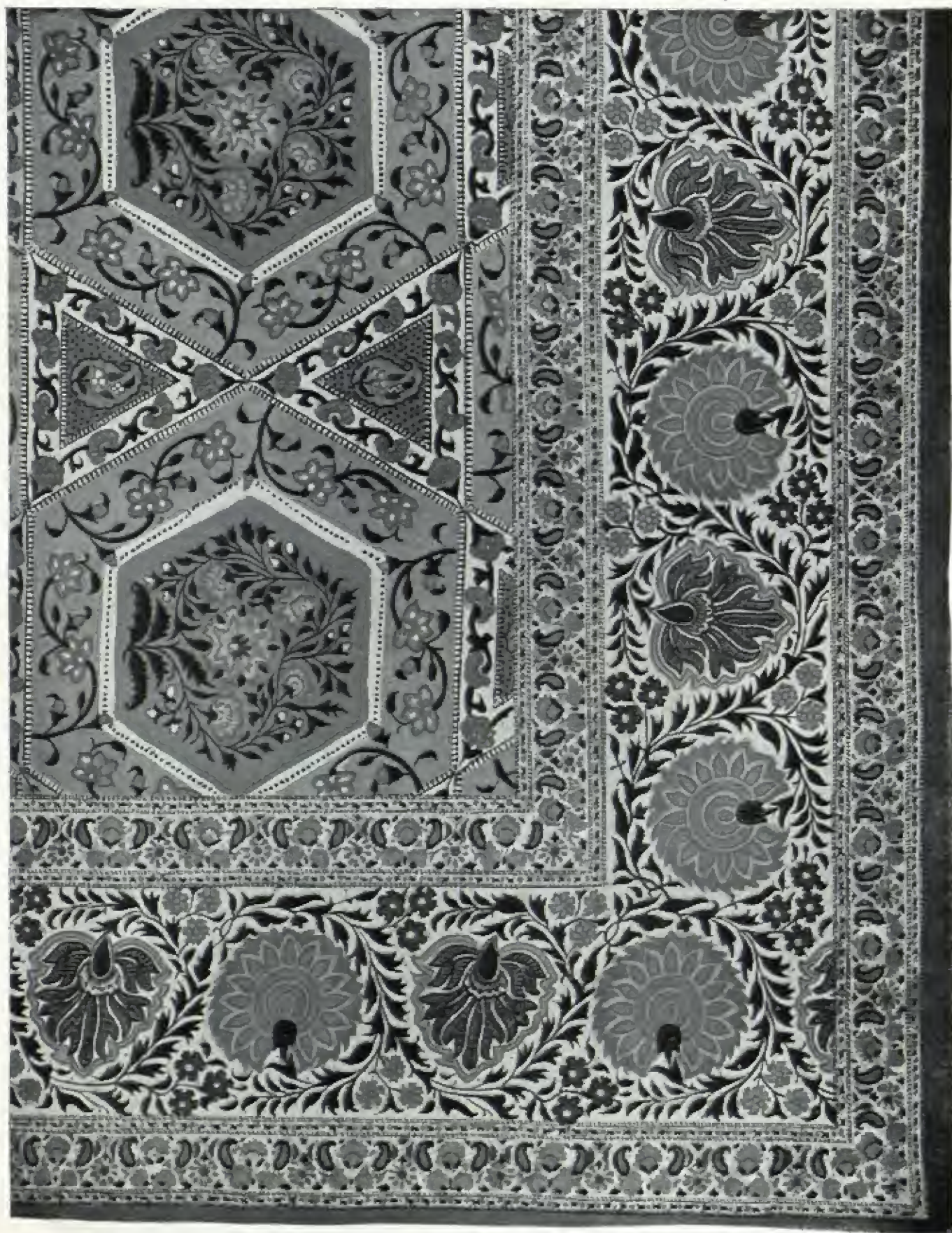
PRINTED SARI

A fine example of the textile block printer's art

(From *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Vol. 1)



PART OF A PRINTED SARI FROM AMRITSAR



BEAUTIFUL EXAMPLE OF PRINTED COTTON FROM MADRAS

(From *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Vol. III)



The Patan weavers use only simple gadgets like the bicycle wheel shown here and used for winding the silk threads.



The dyed silk threads are spread on a loom before weaving
THE PATOLA OF PATAN (1)
 (Photos : P. R. Shinde)



1.



2.



3.

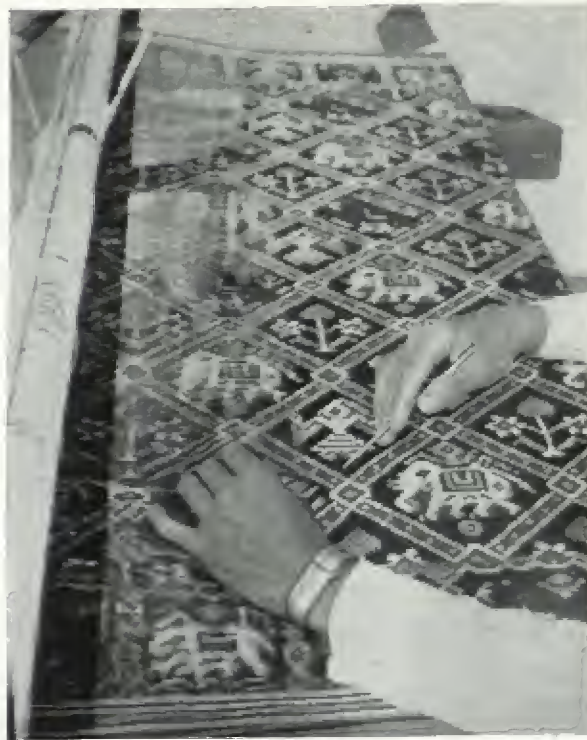
1. First a strip is woven by hand on a wooden frame as a guide for the pattern and colour scheme for the final patola

2. The patola is finally woven on a simple wooden frame, generally made of bamboos.

3. The Patan weaver at work on his loom.

THE PATOLA OF PATAN (2)

(Photos : P. R. Shinde)



The motifs of the Patola are strictly Indian and traditional. Here is the well-known motif of elephants, flowers and leaves



Another traditional design. A patola may fetch anything from Rs. 400 to Rs. 800



In Gujarat it is customary for the father to present a patola to the girl getting married



PATOLA OF PATAN, GUJARAT, IN RATAN CHOK DESIGN



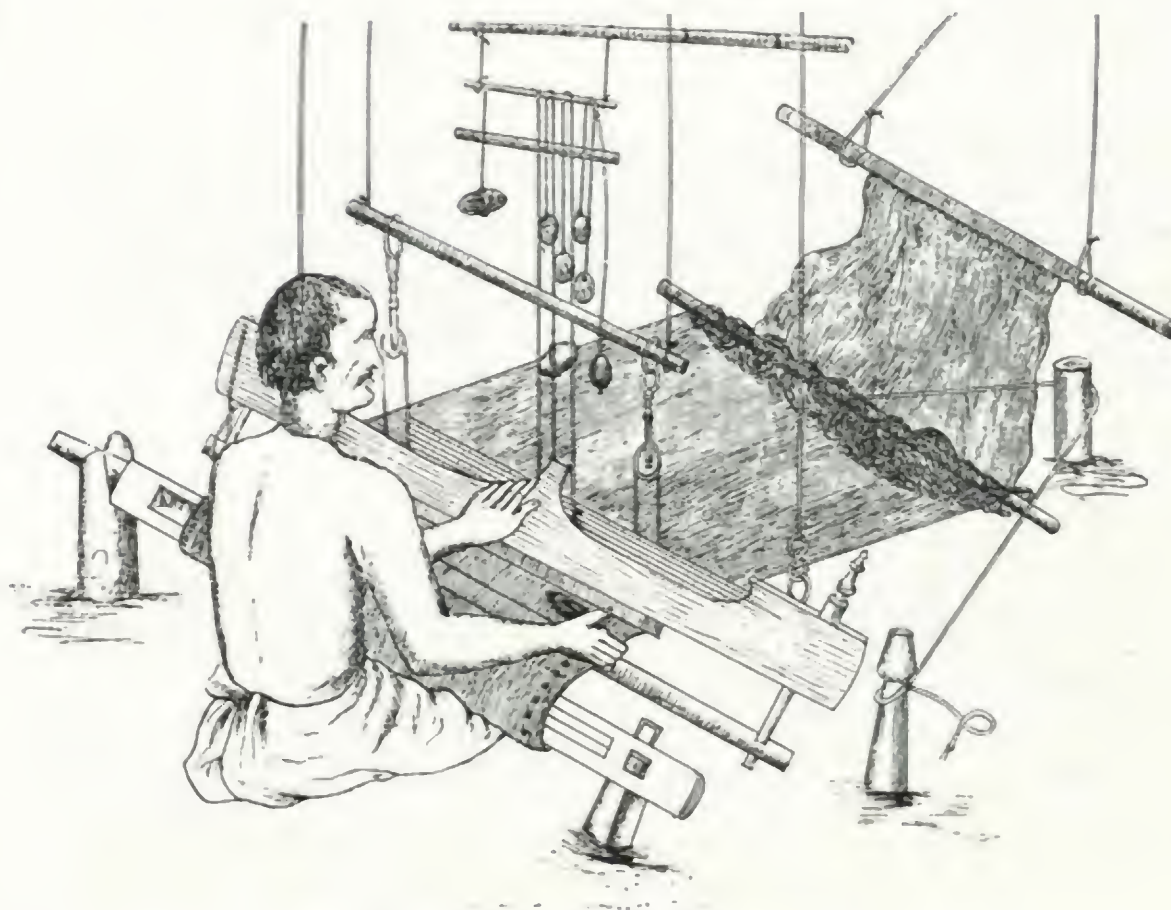
PATOLA OF PATAN, GUJARAT, IN NARI-KUNGAR DESIGN

(By Courtesy of *Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery*)



MUSLIM GIRL FROM RAJASTHAN SPINNING

(Photo : A. L. Syed)



NATIVE HAND-LOOM OF MADHYA PRADESH

(From *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry*)



Nº1. SPINNING FINE YARN.



Nº2. WARPING.



Nº3. REELING YARN FROM A REEL.



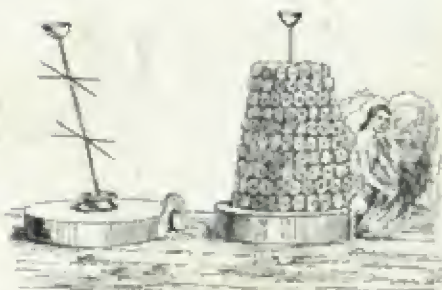
Nº4. APPLYING THE REED TO THE WARP.



Nº5. WEAVING.



Nº6. FORMING THE HEDDLES.



Nº7. STEAMING CLOTHS DURING THE PROCESS OF BLEACHING.



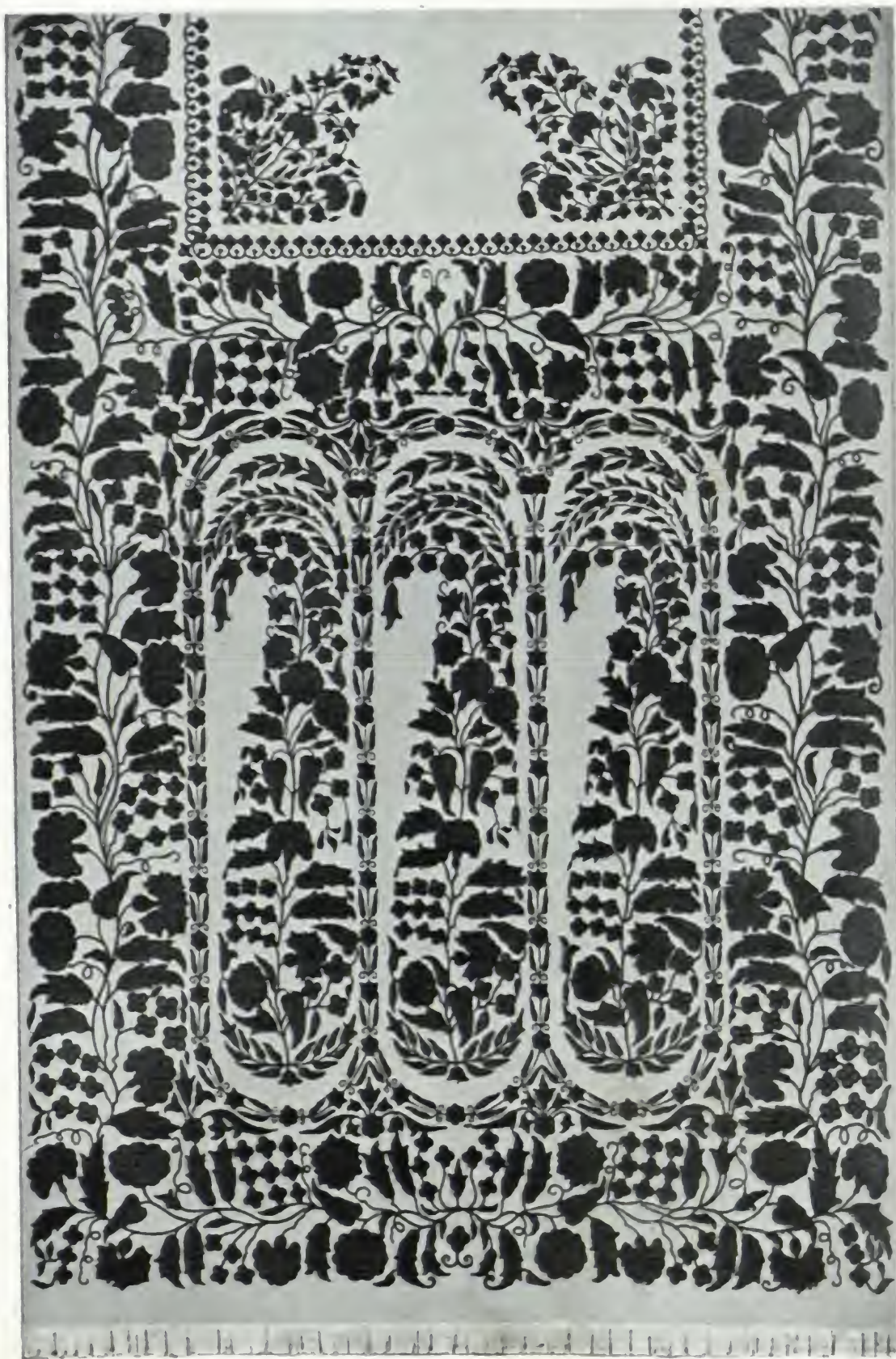
Nº8. ARRANGING DISPLACED THREADS IN CLOTH.

DRAWINGS ILLUSTRATING THE PROCESS OF MANUFACTURE OF DACCA MUSLINS

(From *The Textile Manufactures and the Costumes of the People of India* by J. Forbes Watson)



SCARF-END EMBROIDERED IN BLUE ON WHITE MUSLIN, FROM DACCA
(From *Industrial Arts of the XIXth Century at the Great Exhibition* by M. Digby Wyatt)



SPECIMEN OF INDIAN EMBROIDERY FROM DACCA
(From *Industrial Arts of the XIX Century at the Great Exhibition* by M. Digby Wyatt)

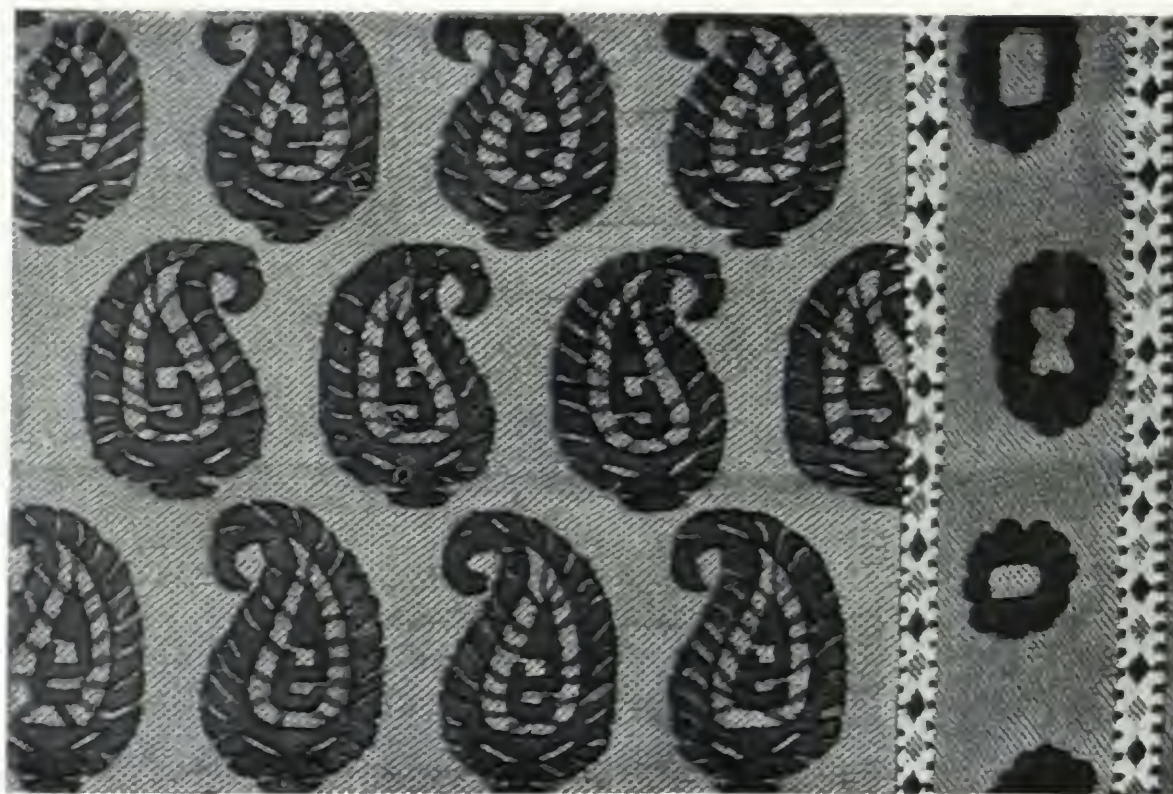


BEAUTIFUL EXAMPLES OF PAITHAN EMBROIDERY

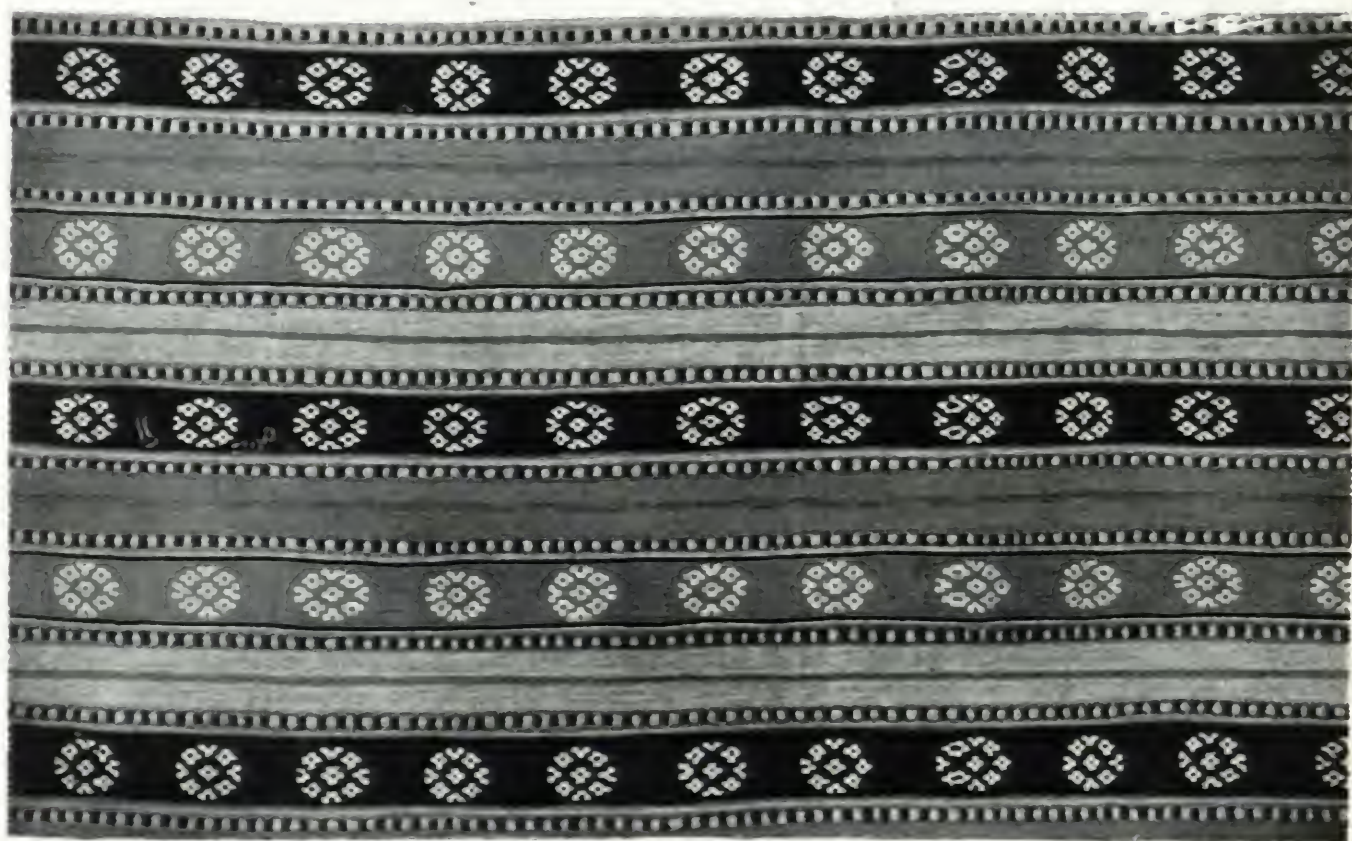
(Photos : E. S. Mahalingam)



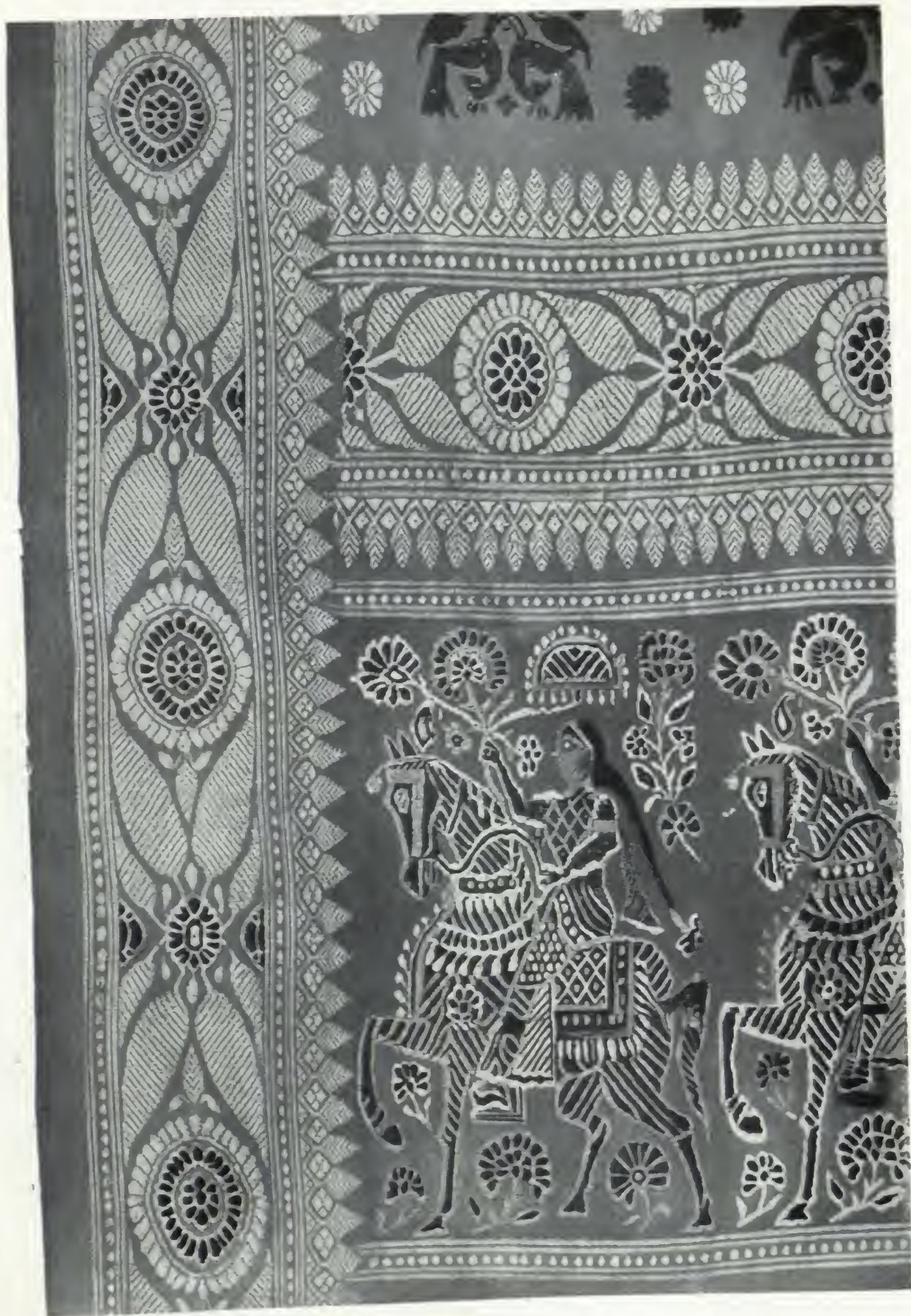
TWO BEAUTIFUL EXAMPLES OF PAITHAN EMBROIDERY
(Photos : E. S. Mahalingam)



WOVEN SILK SHAWL FROM BANGALORE
(From *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Vol. III)



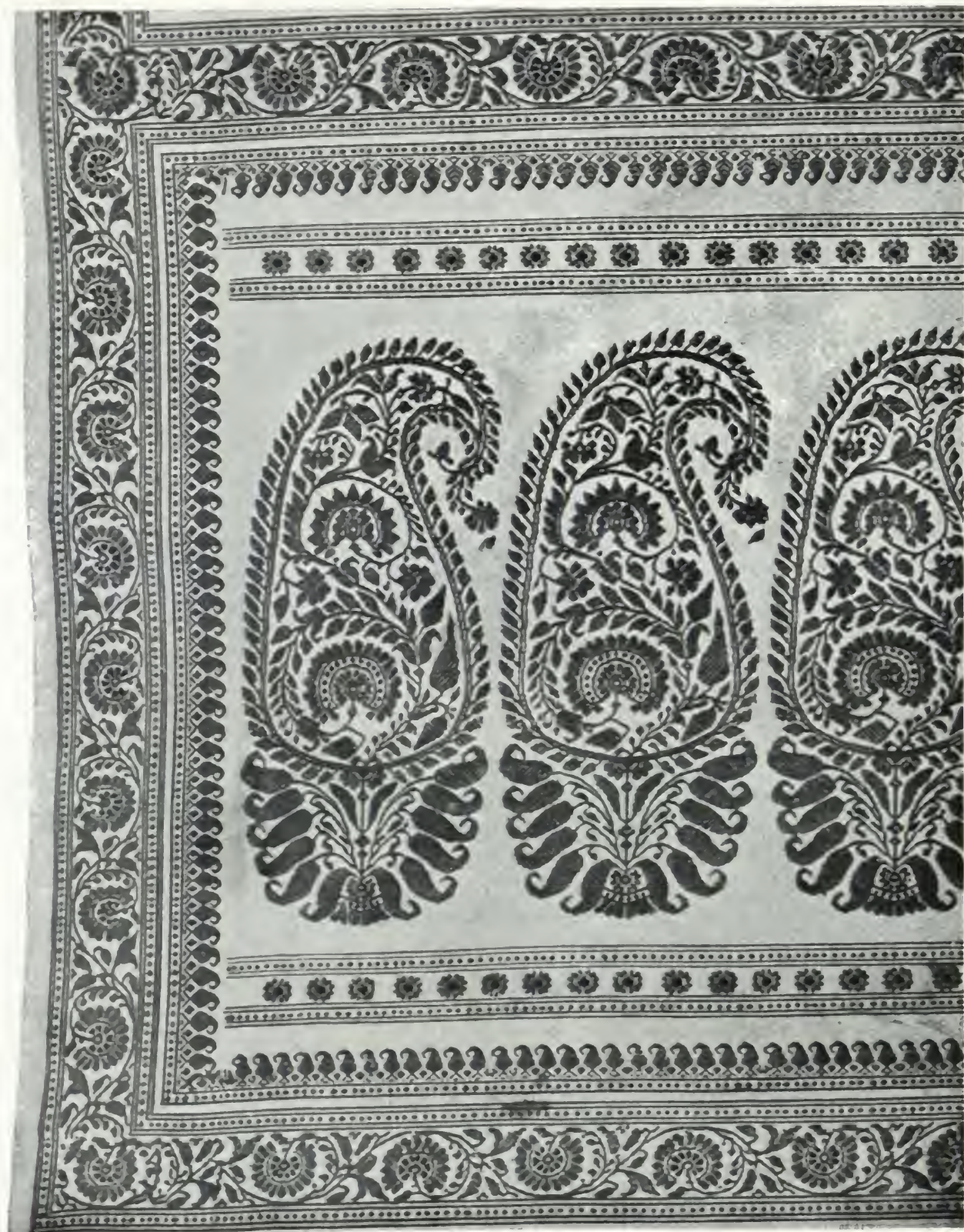
SATIN MASHRU
(From *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry*)



BALUCHAR "BUTIDAR" SARI (OLD STYLE) FROM MURSHIDABAD

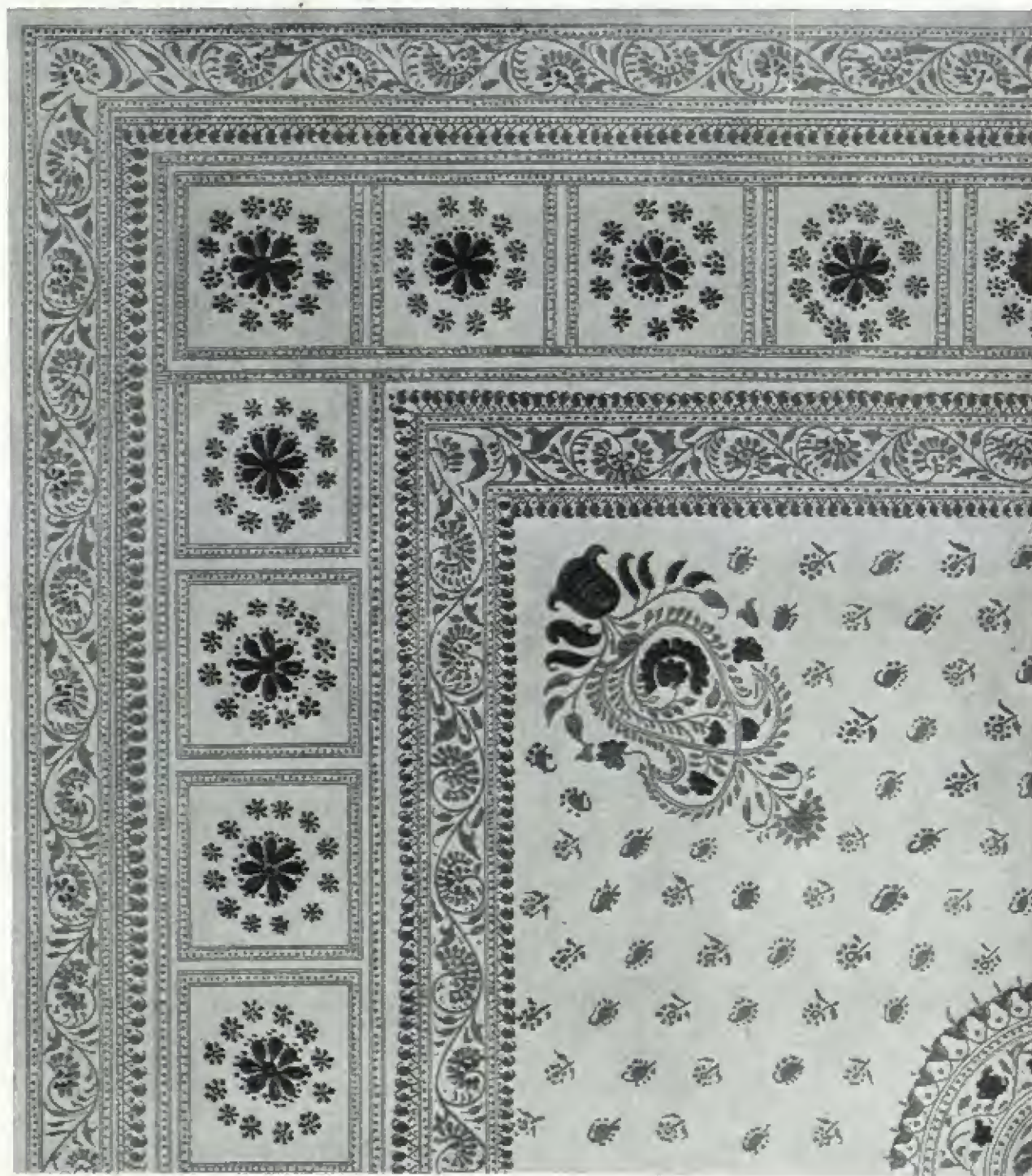
This is one of the most popular of Bengal textiles and a rarity these days. The field colour is usually a deep purple, and the designs woven with special weft threads of white, red, orange and green. The weaving is complicated and often requires the help of over fourteen persons.

(From *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Vol. V)



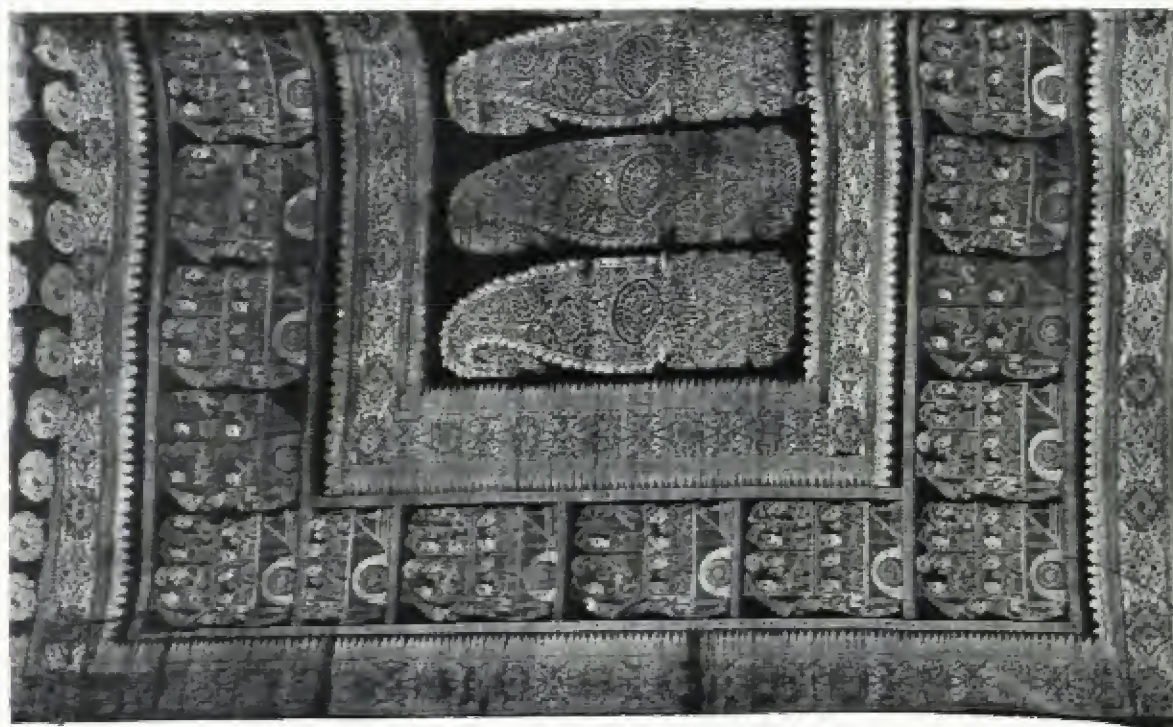
BALUCHAR "BUTIDAR" SARI (NEW STYLE) FROM MURSHIDABAD

(From *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Vol. V)



BALUCHAR ORNAMENTAL TABLE-COVER WOVEN BY DUBRAJ

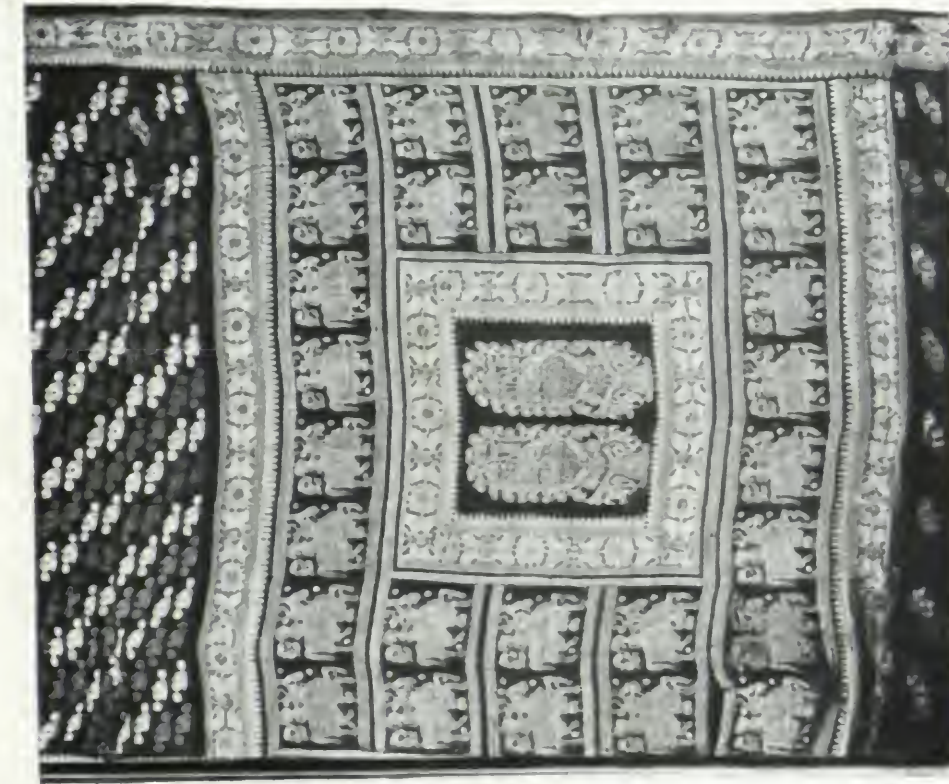
(From *A Monograph on the Silk Fabrics of Bengal* by N. G. Mukherji)



BALUCHAR SARI FROM MURSHIDABAD
18th Century
(By Courtesy of *Bharat Kala Bhawan*)



BALUCHAR SCARF WOVEN BY DUBRAJ
(From *A Monograph on the Silk Fabrics of Bengal* by N. C. Mukerji)



SILK EMBROIDERED BALUCHI SARI, Dacca

10th Century



PAITHAN SARI OF HEAVY GOLD RAJPUT WORK, POONA

18th Century

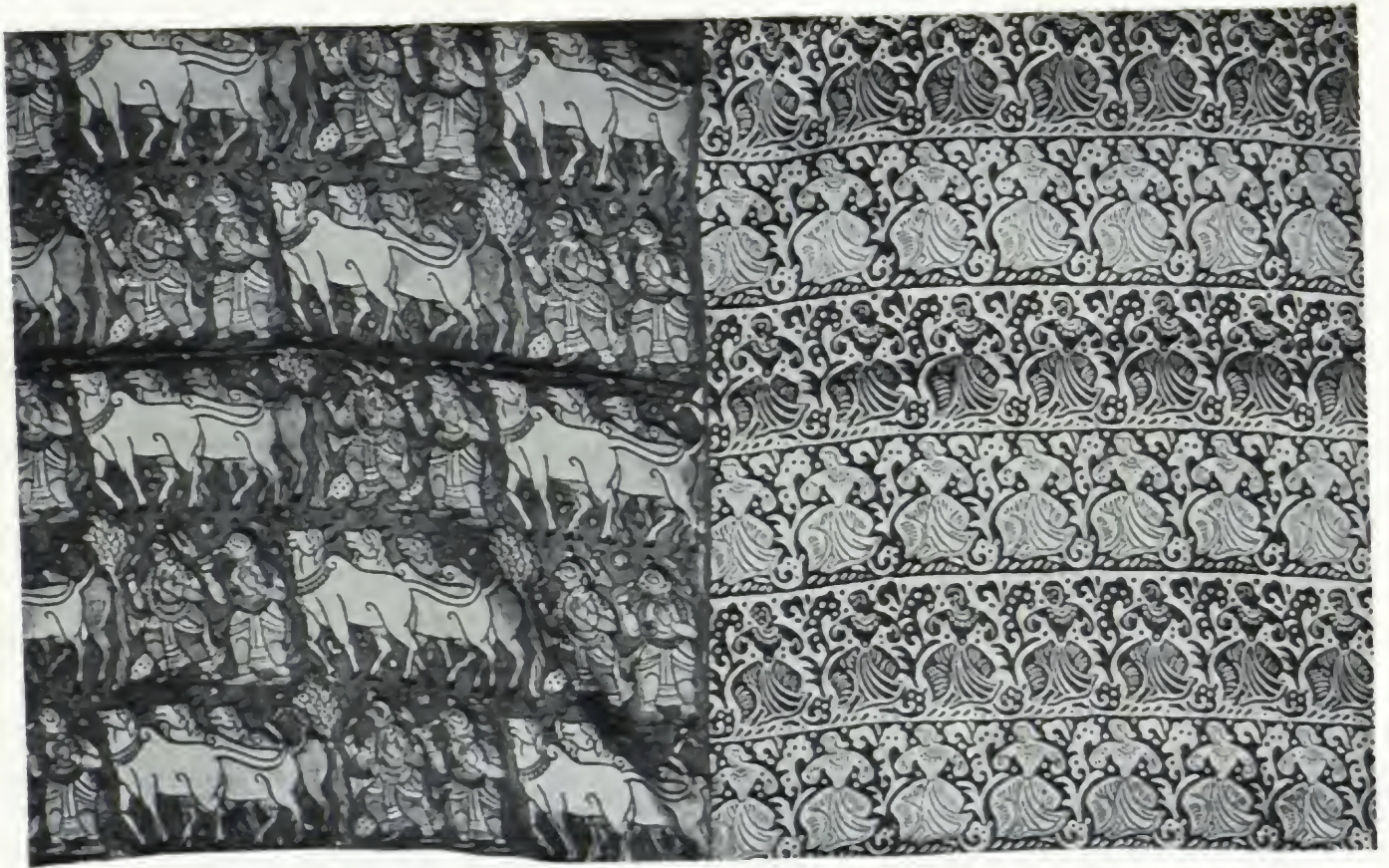
(By Courtesy of Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery)



LOVELY SILK SARI, MURSHIDABAD

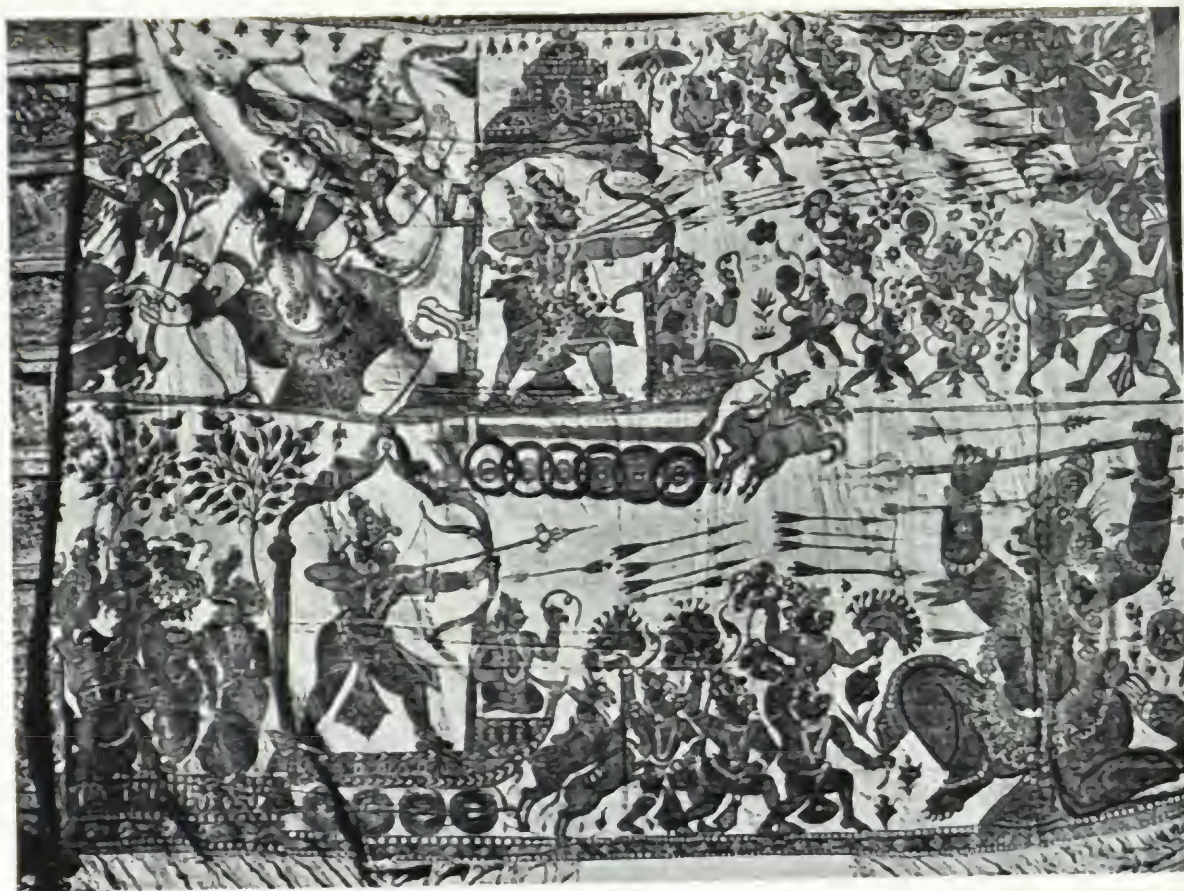
Early 19th. Century

(By Courtesy of *Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery*)



TWO DESIGNS ON BENGAL SILK

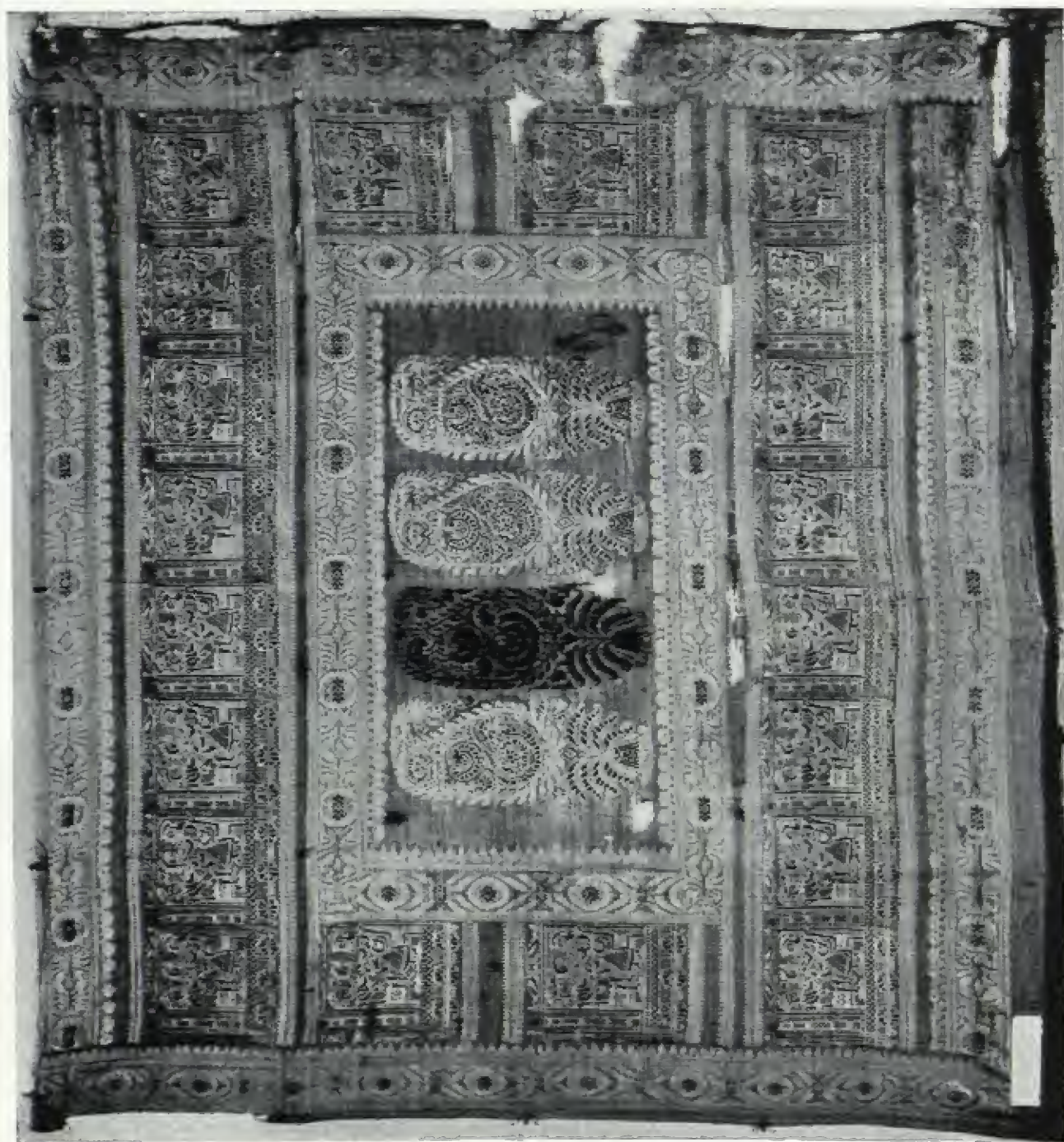
(By Courtesy of Home (Publicity) Dept., Government of West Bengal)



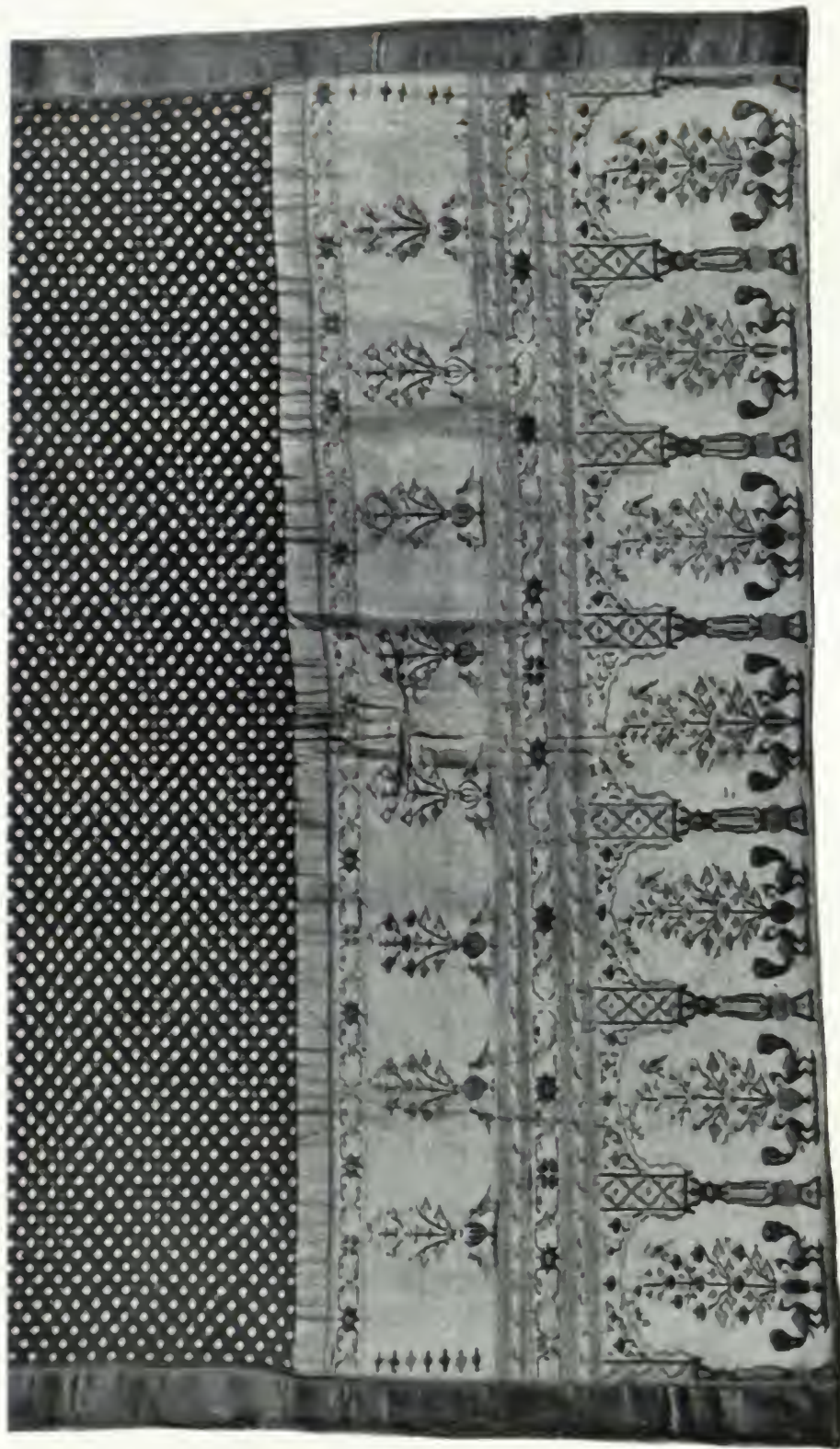
SUPERB EXAMPLE OF AN ANCIENT INDIAN TEXTILE



YELLOW SILK SKIRT CLOTH WITH FLOWER EMBROIDERY, SAURASHTRA (?), 19th Century,
(By Courtesy of Baroda Museum)



SOFT LILAC-COLOURED SARI OF SILK, BENGAL, 19th Century A.D.
(By Courtesy of Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery)



BLACK SILK SARI (PAITHANI) WITH GOLD EMBROIDERY

11 yards long and 57 inches in width, from Burhanpur, a famous centre for silk and gold thread textile manufacture during the Muslim period. This sari was awarded medals and certificates of merit at Delhi and other art exhibitions.

(By Courtesy of *Central Museum, Nagpur*)



TRANSPARENT SARI EMBROIDERED WITH GOLD AND SILVER
TINSEL WORK IN LUCKNOW STYLE, PATNA, 19th Century
(By Courtesy of Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery)



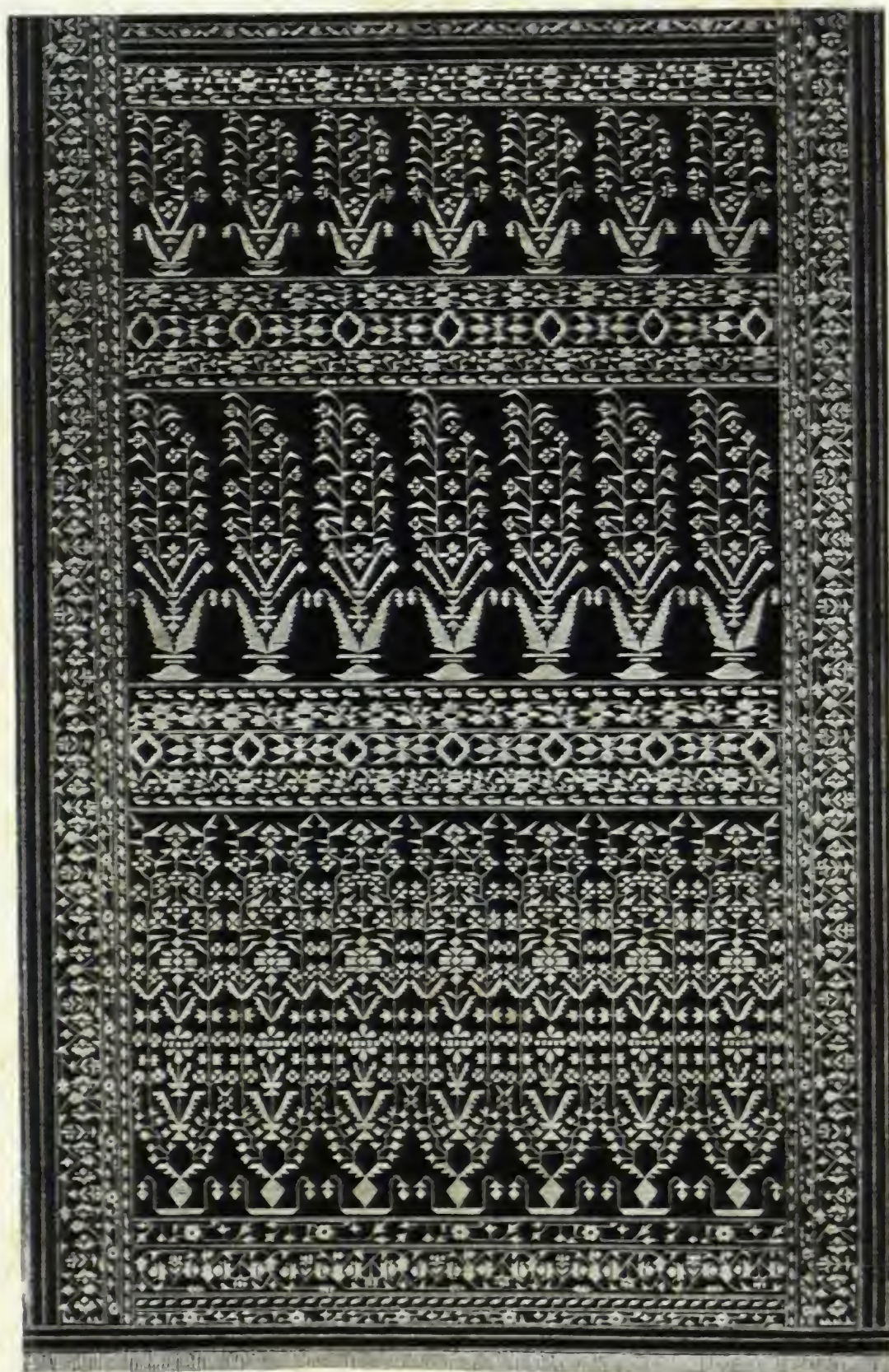
BEAUTIFUL SPECIMEN OF WOVEN SILK FROM MADRAS
(From *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry*)



HEAVY ROUGH SILK CLOTHS (VEERALI or VEERAKALI)

About 100 years old, from the Trivandrum palace, probably used as elephant jhools in Travancore.

(From *Monograph on the Carpet Weaving Industry of Southern India* by Henry T. Harris)



KINKHAB DESIGN IN WHITE SILK AND GOLD THREAD

(From *Industrial Arts of the XIXth Century at the Great Exhibition* by M. Digby Wyatt)

thread in a month. The best season for weaving fine muslin was the rainy season. It is said that fabrics made of Dacca yarn were more durable than muslins manufactured by machinery.

The cotton in the form of 'Kapas', that is, with the seeds and wool unseparated, is cleaned and prepared by the women who spin the yarn. The wool adhering to the seed is carded with the jawbone of the Baoli fish, the teeth of which being small, secure and closely set, act as a fine comb for removing loose and coarse fibres of the cotton and extraneous earthy or vegetable matter. To detach the fibres from the seeds a small quantity is placed upon a smooth flat board, upon which the spinner rolls an iron pin backward and forward with the hands so as to separate the fibres without crushing the seeds. The cotton is then teased out with a small hand bow formed of a piece of bamboo with two elastic slips of the same material inserted into it and strung with a cord of catgut, silk or of twisted plantain or rattan fibre. Thus reduced to a light, downy fleece the cotton is spread out and wrapped round a thick, wooden roller and on the removal of the latter instrument it is pressed between two flat boards. It is next rolled round a piece of lacquered reed of the size of a quill and, lastly, is enveloped in the soft and smooth skin of the Cuchia fish which serves as a cover to protect it from dust and from being soiled, while it is held in the hand during the process of spinning. The finest thread is spun by women under thirty years of age. Their fingers are more flexible and dextrous and their joints have not become rigid with age.

The spinning apparatus which is usually contained in a small, flat work basket comprises the cylindrical roll of cotton, a delicate iron spindle, a concave piece of shell embedded in clay. The spindle is no thicker than a needle. It is ten to fourteen inches in length and attached to it, near its lowest point, is a small ball of unbaked clay about the size of a pea to give it sufficient weight in turning. The spinner sitting on a low stool holds it in an inclined position with its point resting in the hollow of the piece of shell and turns it between thumb and fore-finger of one hand, while at the same time drawing out the single fibres from the roll of cotton held in the other hand, and twists them into yarn upon the spindle. A certain degree of moisture combined with a temperature of about 82° is the condition of atmosphere best suited to this operation. Dacca spinners generally work from soon after early dawn till about 9 or 10 o'clock before the rising sun disperses the dew on the grass. When the air is dry the spinning is done over a shallow vessel of water, the evaporation from which imparts the necessary degree of moisture to the fibres of the cotton.

The cotton which swells least on bleaching is considered by weavers to be best suited for the manufacture of fine thread. English yarn swells on bleaching while Dacca yarn shrinks and becomes stronger the more it is washed.

The yarn delivered to the weaver is wound on small pieces of reed or is made up in the form of small skeins. These are steeped in water. The yarn is then reeled. A piece of stick is passed through a hollow reed and is fixed to the cleft end of a piece of bamboo. The weaver, holding the latter between his toes, draws off the yarn from the reed which revolves upon the stick and winds it upon the reel which he holds in the other hand and whirls round, in a small cup of smooth coconut shell. When the yarn is in the form of a skein it is put upon a small wheel made of fine splints of bamboo and thread. This is mounted on the end of the stick upon which it is made to revolve, and as the yarn is thus drawn off, it is wound upon the reel. The yarn is divided into two parts. A sufficient quantity of the finest of it is kept for the woof (*bana*) and the rest for the warp (*tana*). The warp thread is steeped for three days in water which is changed twice daily. On the fourth day it is put upon a small wheel made of splits of reeds and threads and is then reeled. The stick upon which the wheel is mounted is held between the toes and the reel is turned. Skeins of convenient size having been wound off, are steeped in water and tightly twisted between two sticks and are left on the sticks in the sun to dry. They are next untwisted and put into water mixed with fine charcoal powder, lamp black or soot scraped from the surface

of an earthen cooking vessel. The yarn is kept in the mixture for two days and is then steeped in water for one night; the next day it is opened up and spread out on flat boards, smoothed with the hand and rubbed over with a small quantity of rice and fine lime mixed with water. Rice has been used for starch in India from times immemorial. The skeins, after being sized, are wound upon large reels and exposed to the sun, the turns of the thread being widely spread over the surface of reels in order that they may dry quickly. The thread is reeled and sorted preparatory to warping. It is divided into three shades of quality. The finest for the right hand side, the next finest for the left hand side, and the coarsest for the centre of the warp. This is the method of preparing yarn for the warp of plain muslin. For striped fabrics a certain number of threads are twisted together, two for each stripe of 'dorea' (striped) and four for that of 'charkhana' (squares) muslin. The sizing and reeling is done in the same way as for the plain fabric.

Yarn for the woof is not prepared until two days before required for weaving. A quantity sufficient for one day is steeped in water for twenty-four hours; the next day it is rinsed and wound on large reels and is then lightly sized with a paste of the same kind as is applied to the warp. It is left to dry in the shade. This process is continued daily until the piece to be woven is finished.

Four short bamboo posts are fixed in the ground at measured distances (according to the length of the cloth) and several pairs of rods are placed between them, the whole forming two parallel rows of rods about four feet apart. The weaver, holding a small wheel of warp yarn in each hand passes it over one of the posts and walks along the rows, laying down two threads and crossing them (by crossing his hands between each pair of rods) until he arrives at the post at the opposite extremity. He retraces his steps from this point and continues to traverse backward and forward as many times as there are threads of the warp to be laid down. The small wheels or bobbins on which the warp yarn is wound are made of fine split bamboos and thread and are each attached at a right angle to a short handle, at the end of which is a coarse glass-ring through which the yarn runs. Two pairs of hand wheels, one with single and another with twisted yarn are used alternately for the warps of striped and checked muslins.

The reed is generally applied to the warp after the preceding operation, but sometimes it is not attached until the warp has been fastened to the end roll of the loom. It is made of fine splits of bamboo firmly fixed between ribs of split cane. The finest reed used in Dacca looms contains 2,800 dents in the space of 40 inches of length. In order to apply it to the warps, the latter is folded in the form of a roll or bundle, and is suspended from the roof of the weaver's hut, with one unfolded end spread out and hanging down to within a foot or two from the ground. The reed is then fastened with two light cords to the bundle and hangs in front of the unfolded portion of the warp. Two workmen seat themselves on each side of the warp. Having cut a portion of its end loops, the man in front passes an iron wire through the first division of the reed to the other workman and the ends of the two outermost threads being twisted by him, it is drawn back and the thread is thus brought through. In this manner wire is introduced through all divisions of the reed and two threads are drawn through each of them. The ends of the threads are gathered in bunches of five or six and knotted and through the loops formed by these knots a small bamboo rod is passed.

The warp is folded upon the reed in the form of a bundle and is held by a workman. The end is then unfolded, and a thin slip of bamboo passed through it. It is then received into a longitudinal groove in the end roll (yarn beam) and fastened to it with pieces of string. The end roll rests in two loops of cord attached to two posts and is turned round with a winch. The warp threads are next arranged, the outermost ones are brought to a distance commensurate with the intended breadth of the cloth, and a portion of the warp being unfolded and put upon the stretch by the person who holds the bundle, two workmen

proceed to arrange threads in its middle. They use small pieces of cane, softened and beaten out at one end into the form of a brush, in order to separate the threads from one another and then gently tap them with an elastic cane, held in the form of a bow, to bring them into a state of parallelism. The portion of the warp thus arranged is carefully wound upon the end roll and another portion is unrolled and arranged.

To prepare the heddles, the portion of the warp behind the reed is unfolded and stretched out horizontally in the same manner as in the loom. A broad piece of bamboo is then placed edgewise between the threads of the warp so that the weaver may have sufficient room, to form the loop of the heddle. The twine of a reddish colour of which they are made is unwound from the wheel fixed to the post near the weaver and being passed between the separated threads of the warp to the opposite side it is fastened to a cane to which is attached an oval piece of wood about eight inches in length. The weaver then dips a finger between the outermost thread of the warp and the one next to it and brings up a fold or loop of coloured string which passes inside the oval piece of wood and is crossed round the cane above.

The same process is repeated between every two threads of the warp. Two sets of loops are made and when loops of one side are finished the warp is removed from the posts, is reversed and stretched out as before and then those of the other side are made. By this process loops of one side are intersected with those of the other—the threads of the warp enclosed within them being thereby so placed as to either rise or fall according as the force applied by the weaver acts on the upper or lower loops of the heddles. The canes on which loops are crossed are fastened by strings to four small bamboo rods, the upper ones being attached, when placed in the loom, to slings of the heddles, and the two lower ones to weights of the treadles.

The Indian loom is horizontal and is said to resemble that of ancient Egypt. Four bamboo posts are firmly fixed in the ground and are connected above by side pieces which support transverse rods to which slings of lay or batten and balance of heddles are attached. The warp wound on the end roll and having the reed and heddles attached to it is brought to the loom and is fixed to the breast roll (or cloth beam) by a small slip of bamboo which is passed through loops of warp and is received into a longitudinal groove in the beam. Both end and breast rolls rest either in scooped shoulder posts or in strong looped cords attached to four lateral posts. They are turned round with a winch and are prevented from moving in the opposite direction by a piece of stick, one end of which is inserted in the mortice at the end of the roll and the other fixed into the ground. The lay or batten consists of two broad, flat pieces of wood, grooved on the inner edges for the reception of the reed, which is fixed in place by iron or wooden pins passed through the ends of the lay. It is suspended from the transverse rod above by slings passing through several pieces of sawn shell. By altering the distance between the segments of shell which is done by lengthening or shortening intermediate slings, the range of motion of the lay is increased or diminished. The extent of this range of motion regulates, in a great measure, the degree of force which is applied to the weft in weaving and as it is necessary to adapt this to the particular texture of the fabric to be made, proper adjustment of this part of the apparatus requires great care and is considered by weavers as one of the most delicate operations connected with the loom. The balance of heddles having slings of the latter attached to their extremities, are equally poised and suspended from the transverse rod above. Threading is made of pieces of bamboo and are contained in a pit dug in the ground, about 3 feet in length and 2 feet in breadth and $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet in depth. The shuttle is made of the light wood of the betel-nut tree (*Areca catechu*). It has spear-shaped iron points and is from 10 to 14 inches in length, $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in breadth, and weighs about 2 ozs. It has a long, open space in the centre in which is longitudinally placed a moveable iron wire upon which the reed of the weft revolves, the thread passing as it is thrown off from the latter through an eye in

the side of the shuttle. The temple, or instrument for keeping cloth on the stretch during the process of weaving is formed of two rods connected together with cord and armed at their outer ends with two brass hooks or pins which are inserted into the edges of cloth on its under surface. The weaver sits, with right leg bent, upon a board or mat placed close to the edge of the pit, depressing one of the treadles with the great toe of the left foot and thus forming a shed in the warp above he passes the shuttle with a slight jerk from one hand to the other and then strikes home each shot of the weft with the lay.

To lessen friction on the threads of the warp during the process of weaving, the shuttle, reed and lay are all oiled ; and to prevent the dessication of the former in very hot weather a brush made of a tuft of the fibres of the Nal plant (*Arundo karka*) and smeared with mustard oil, is occasionally drawn lightly along the extended surface. When a portion of the cloth about 10 or 12 inches in length is finished it is, in order to preserve it from being injured by insects, rolled upon the cloth beam and a portion of the warp is unwound from the yarn beam at the opposite end of the loom.

"The rigid, clumsy fingers of a European," says Orme, "would scarcely be able to make a piece of canvas with the instruments which are all that an Indian employs in making a piece of cambric (muslin)."

A half piece of *mulmul khas* or *Circar Ali* of the finest kind took at least six months to make while a whole piece of *narainpore jehazy* muslin, which was very inferior in quality, could be made in eight days.

The process of bleaching is also carried on in the suburbs of Dacca. Abul Fazl mentions a place called Catarashoonda in Sunarganj that was celebrated in his time for its water that gave a peculiar whiteness to fabrics washed in it. Such water is now found in the suburbs of Dacca. For bleaching, fine muslins are steeped in water and are next immersed for some hours in an alkaline lye composed of soap (Bengal soap was considered the best in India and was exported to different parts of India, Basra, Jiddah, etc.) and "sajjee mattee" (impure carbonate of soda). They are then spread over the grass and are occasionally sprinkled with water and when half dried are removed to the boiling house to be steamed. The boiler is an earthen vessel having a very wide mouth and capable of containing 8 to 10 gallons of water. It is placed over a small excavation in the ground and built up with clay, so as to form a broad, flat surface round its neck, having at one part a slanting opening or passage leading to the excavation below. A hollow tube or reed fitted with a cup or funnel made of coconut shell serves as a tube through which water is poured into the vessel. The pieces of cloth are twisted into forms of loose bundles and placed upon the broad clay platform, on a level with the boiler. Fire is kindled in the excavation below and as the ebullition of water proceeds the steam rises through the wide mouth of the vessel and diffuses itself through the mass of cloth above, swelling by its high temperature the threads of the latter and allowing the alkali still adhering to them to penetrate more completely into their fibres and seize on the colouring matter of the cotton. (The process of bleaching linen by steam is said to have been practised with great success in France where it was brought from the Levant and was first made known to the public by Chaptal). The operation of steaming is commenced in the evening and allowed to continue all night. Cloths are then removed from the boiler, steeped in alkaline lye and spread over the grass as on the previous day and are again steamed at night. This process is repeated for ten or twelve days, until the pieces of cloth are perfectly bleached. After the last steaming they are steeped in clear, filtered water acidulated with lime juice in proportion of one large lime to each piece of cloth.

Lime juice has long been used for bleaching in India. Tavernier says that Broach was celebrated in his time as a bleaching station on account of its extensive meadows and the large quantities of lemons raised in them. "Throughout the territory of the Great Moughal they make use of the lime juice of citrus to whiten their calicuts, whereby they

make them sometimes so white that they dazzle the sight." Mixed fabrics of cotton and muga silk are steeped in water mixed with lime juice and coarse sugar, which latter article is said to have the effect of brightening the natural colour of the silk. Bleachers are all Hindus of the "dhoti" (Washerman) caste. Boilers are erected under thatched roofs and there are generally five or six of them under one roof. Spreading the cloth over the grass or on bamboo frames was the work of *contadars* whose business it was to keep the bleach ground clean and free of weeds, prickly grass and whatever tended to injure the cloth. This is now done by other workmen employed on the field.

Nurdeeahs are arrangers of threads that happen to be displaced during bleaching. The cloth wound upon a roller (*nurd*) is placed between two posts and is carefully unrolled and examined. The damaged portion is spread out and being wetted with water, an instrument like a comb, formed of the spines of the Nagphana plant (*Opuntia dillenii*), is drawn lightly along the surface of the displaced threads in order to bring them to their proper place.

In darning muslins the Muslims excel. An expert *rafugar* (darner) can extract a long uneven thread and replace it with one of the finest quality. This operation is generally done when a coarse thread is discovered in a web of muslin after bleaching. *Rafugars* are employed to repair cloth that has been injured during bleaching, in removing weavers' knots from threads, joining broken threads and forming gold and silver headings on the cloth.

Dagh dhobeas are washermen who remove spots and stains from muslins. They use the juice of the Amrool plant (*Oxalis corniculata*) which yields an acid like that of sorrel, to take out iron marks; and a composition of ghee, lime and mineral alkali is used to efface stains and discolourations such as are produced by decayed leaves and plants.

Koondegurs are workers who beetle cloth. Muslins are beaten with smooth chauk shell (*Voluta gravis*) and cloth of stout texture with a mallet upon a block of tamarind wood, rice water being sprinkled on during the process.

Special ironers iron fine muslins, laying it for the purpose between sheets of paper.

Cloths are folded by *murdeeahs* and formed into bales by *bustabands*. The ancient mode of packing muslins was to enclose them in hollow joints of bamboo—sufficiently long to contain 22 yards of cloth of one yard width.

The greater the length and number of threads and the less the weight, the greater was the value of the cloth. The *mulmul* had 1000 to 1800 threads in the warp. The *Abrawan* or 'running water' was considered second in quality. *Shabnam* was third in quality and *Sircar Ali* came next. After that came *Tanzeb* but *Jungle Khassa* and *Nayansookh* were also muslins of great beauty. Other qualities were *Buddun khas*, *Kirmees*, *Jhuna*, *Rong*, *Alaballee* and *Turudam*. Best after Dacca are the muslins of Arnee in Madras.

Calicoes, derivatively meaning cloth available at Calicut, accounted for the bread and butter part of India's export trade and traditionally provided employment for many Indian families. Cottons of all varieties from the coarsest *garha* to the finest muslins have always been a speciality of India and were produced all over the country. Apart from the great centres of cotton weaving like Dacca, Arnee, Madura, Tanda, etc., small looms were found in almost all villages where the local weaver satisfied popular demand. At the beginning of the 18th century protective legislation was passed in England against entry of Indian products. With the gradual political ascendancy of the British in India which culminated in 1765 with the assumption of the Diwani in Bengal by the East India Company and the almost simultaneous mechanisation of the British textile industry as a result of the Industrial Revolution in England the picture began to change.

Upto 1813, however, the East India Company, holding the monopoly of the Indian Trade, wanted to produce things cheaply in India to make bigger profits. The imposition of heavy import duties on Indian cloth of 70 to 90 per cent *ad valorem* necessitated the

cutting down of production costs in India. The Company, therefore, freely exercised its newly acquired political power to strangle the Indian weaving industry. The weavers in a particular area were summoned by the commercial residents of the company to receive advances for the production of a specified quantity of cloth at a fixed rate which the weavers were compelled to accept. It was provided by regulations that a weaver who accepted an advance "shall on no account give to any other persons whatever, European or native either the labour or the produce engaged to the Company." Various rigorous penalties were enforced for failure to make deliveries, and once the weaver took an advance he very seldom escaped his liability. The oppressive methods of the Company made the conditions of weavers miserable, and large numbers abandoned the loom for the plough. Later still, competition with foreign mill-made cloth almost strangled the industry and it goes to the credit of the weaver that in spite of staggering odds he managed to keep his craft alive. ✓

Silk is also extensively woven in India. At what time it came to India it is not possible to ascertain as we have seen above, but it soon came to be much appreciated and was extensively used by all who could afford it. It was both imported and woven in the country. Silk worms were extensively reared and the silk-weaving of India came to hold a position in the world second to that only of China.

The weaving and spinning of silk is done in the same crude ways as that of cotton but the results produced are magnificent.

The raw silk is sorted, reeled and twisted by women. It is then dyed by the weaver himself and the part intended for the warp is sent to the warper. To sort and reel the silk, a skein is moistened and thrown round the *pilara*, a rough circular bamboo cage about 4 feet across and 2 feet deep. In the centre of the cage is a rod about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet long. About 3 inches from each end of this rod are fastened 6 spoke-like pieces of narrow bamboo each about $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet long. The ends of the two sets of spokes are tied together with cords and the skein of silk is thrown over the cords. In reeling, the woman sits to the left by one side of the cage on a stool. On the ground by her right side are two or three reels with long handles and points. She sets the bottom of the central rod of the cage in a porcelain cup or smooth cocoanut shell, picks out the end of the hank, ties it to one of the reels and lays the reel at her right side, the handle lying on the stool and the point balanced between the great toe and the second toe of her right foot.

The weaving of wool, though not of a high order, except in Kashmir, has been practised extensively over North-Western India.

For cleaning and separating wool a quantity of husked rice is steeped in clean, cold water for a day and night or longer, until it becomes soft, when it is ground or bruised upon a stone slab, to fine flour. Thin layers of this and of the picked wool are laid alternately and squeezed with the hand until they are completely intermixed. A little water may occasionally be sprinkled over the heap, if the weather is hot and dry, else it is not necessary. Soap is never used as it makes the wool harsh. After thus being treated for an hour the flour is shaken out, the wool opened and torn to pieces, chiefly by the nails, and made into somewhat square, thin, elastic pads called *tumbu*.

In this process the *phiri* or "seconds" wool is extricated. Though too coarse for fine shawls it is used for those of inferior quality, and for a strong shawl-cloth called *Patu*. The *tumbu* is then worked out into a thin, flat roving, about $\frac{1}{2}$ yard long, which is called a *mala*. The *mala* is folded into the size of the *tumbu* and is deposited in a deep pot of red earthenware, called a *taskas*, to be out of the way of dust or accident till required for the spinning wheel.

The wheel is constructed on the same principle as that of the other parts of Northern India. The iron spindle is enclosed in a cylindrical tube of straw or reed grass, and runs through two elastic twists of grass; but instead of one line of radii, or spokes, supporting

a continuous circular wooden rim, there are two circular parallel walls of flat spokes in contact at their edges, leaving between them, at their outer circumference, an empty space. A hair cord, fastened to the loose end of one spoke, is carried across the space or through to the end of the next spoke ; but once on the opposite side and having been passed round, it returns to a spoke on the other side from which it began. By a continuation of this process a rim is formed of a surface of hair cord, over which rides a small band that is said to be seldom cut by the friction to which it is exposed. The principle kept in view in this arrangement of spindle and rim, is to produce a continuity of soft elastic movements without jerk or stiffness, to prevent the yarn from breaking by any slight interruption in drawing it out.

The fine wool is spun in about 700 *gaz* pieces, each *gaz* consisting of 16 *girhas* (*gaz* is 1 yard, *girah* is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches). This yarn is double and formed into twist, which is cut into 200 lengths, each length of $3\frac{1}{2}$ *gaz*, this measure being suited to the length of the warp of the shawl. From the *phiri*, or "seconds" wool, about 100 *gaz* of yarn are produced.

The dyer prepares the yarn by steeping it in cold water. He professes to be able to give it sixty-four different tints, most of which are permanent. Each has a separate denomination, e.g., crimson is termed *Gulanar* (pomegranate flower) ; The best kind is derived from cochineal imported into Kashmir from India ; inferior tints are obtained from lac and "kirmis" distinguished as "kirmisi," "kirindana" and "kirmisi" lac or cochineal ; logwood is used for other dyes ; blue and greens are dyed with indigo, or the colouring matter extracted from boiling European broad-cloth. Logwood is imported from Multan and indigo from other parts of India. Carthamus and Saffron, growing in the state furnish means of various tints of orange, yellow, etc. The whiter and finer the fibre of the wool the more capable it is of receiving a brilliant dye ; and this is one reason why the fine white wool of the goat is preferred to that of sheep.

Kashmir shawls have always been acclaimed as being one of the finest products of India. The finest are of pashmina—a derivative of 'pashm', which is goats' hair taken from the roots.

It is conveyed from Tibet to Rudak on the backs of particularly large sheep. Rudak is the principal rendezvous of merchants who convey it to Leh—the chief town of Ladakh, where it is purchased by merchants of Kashmir. One goat yields 2 lbs of wool annually, and besides the distinction of quality the wool is sorted according to the colour of the animal, separating it into white and dark or ash-coloured, the former for plain and the latter for dyed fabrics. White wool is twice as expensive as the coloured kind.

The first task of the spinner is to separate the different materials of which the fleece consists, usually in about the following proportions :—Coarse hair 3 lbs, "seconds" $\frac{3}{4}$ lbs, dust, etc., $4\frac{1}{4}$ lbs, fine wool 4 lbs.

Much attention is required to free the wool from the hair and the process is a tedious one. The next step is the cleaning and separating of the wool. The spinning wheel is constructed on the same principle as that used in India. The yarn of the fine wool is sold sometimes by measure and sometimes by weight.

The *Pinmangu* keeps a shop for the purchase of the yarn and sends people to collect it from the houses of the spinners. The weaver applies to persons whose business it is to apportion the yarn according to the colours required and he takes it to another whose function it is to divide the yarn into skeins and those to be coloured are given to the *rangrez* or dyer, whose occupation is invariably hereditary. The *Nakatu* adjusts the yarn for the warp and weft, that intended for the former is double and is cut into lengths of $3\frac{1}{2}$ yards, anything short of that measure being considered fraudulent. The weft is made of yarn which is single but a little thicker than the double yarn or twist of the warp. The warp dresser takes from the weaver the yarn which has been cut and reeled, and stretching the

lengths by means of sticks into a band, dresses the whole by dipping into a pan of thick boiled rice water. After this the skein is slightly squeezed, and is again stretched into a band which is brushed and allowed to dry; by this process each length becomes stiff and separated from the rest. The warp for the border of the shawl is generally made of silk, and gives a firmer texture and body to the edge of the cloth than does a warp of yarn. Very narrow borders are worked with the body of the shawl, but when broad they are worked on a separate loom and the *rafugar* sews them on to the edge of the shawl. The weavers are all males and commence to learn the trade at the age of eleven years. Work is executed either for fixed wages, or so much for 100 stitches, by a sort of agreement, the master finding the material and the workman supplying the labour. The produce realised by sale of the shawl, less the cost of material, is divided into five equal parts—one going to the master and four to the workman. Sometimes the proceeds are equally divided in which case the master provides the material and feeds the workman.

When the warp is fixed in the loom, the *nakash* or pattern drawer and the *tazahguru* or person who determines the proportion of yarn of different colours to be employed are again consulted. The workmen prepare the *tugis* or needles by arming each with coloured yarn of about four grams weight. The needles without eyes are made of light and smooth wood and have both their sharp ends slightly charred to prevent their becoming rough or jagged through use. Under the superintendence of the *tazahguru*, the weavers knot the yarn of the *tugis* to the warp. The face or right side of the cloth is placed next to the ground, the work being carried on at the back or reverse on which hang the needles in a row and different in number, from 400 to 1500 according to the lightness or heaviness of the embroidery. As soon as the master is satisfied that the work of one line of woof is completed, the comb is brought down upon it with a vigour and repetition apparently disproportionate to the delicacy of the materials. The cloth of the shawls is generally of two kinds—one plain, or of two threads; the other twilled or of four threads. Two persons are employed in weaving. One throws the shuttle from the edge as far as he can across the warp; it is then seized by the second weaver who throws it on the opposite edge and then returns it. When the shawls are completed they are submitted to the *purusgar*, or cleaner, who frees the shawl from discoloured hair or yarn and from ends or knots. The next stage is to hand them over to the *wafarosh* who has advanced money on them to the manufacturer and to the *mopkin* or broker, and those two settle the price and effect the sale to the merchant. The purchaser takes the goods unwashed and when partly washed the dhobi brings the shawls to the merchant who examines them for holes or imperfections. Should such occur they are remedied at the expense of the seller. The completion of the washing is done in clear cold water, soap being used with great caution on white parts only, and never on the embroidery. Coloured shawls are dried in the shade, while the white ones are bleached in the open air, and their colours are improved by exposure to fumes of sulphur.

The design is drawn in black and white and brought to the overseer of the works, who carefully studies and determines the colour of every portion of it, beginning at the foot of the pattern; he then calls out the colour and the number of threads to which it is to extend, that by which it is to be followed, and so on, in succession, until the whole pattern has been described. This is taken down in a sort of shorthand and given to the weavers.

In the designing of patterns for Kashmir shawls the treatment of form is one of the essential excellences. The objects used in ornamental decoration are always treated quite flat, and with the exception of the ground, large masses are seldom introduced, but large leading forms especially the Indian pine form, are filled in with a minute diaper of smaller forms which are mostly of a foliated character. The beauty of the pattern is greatly increased by the graceful curves and the disposition of these leading lines. The colouring of the shawls is also subjected to a general rule. Simple flat tints are used and no shading is introduced so that leaves, flowers or petals are rendered in single tints. The inner folia-

tions, employed to fill up the pine and other outlines, are in the best kinds of shawls very elaborate, and a broken texture of colour is obtained which produces a subdued and natural effect. When large masses of colour are used, as in some of the embroidered ornament, secondary tints are mostly used and thus the general effect has a visual tendency towards coolness. When pure tints are used in the woven Kashmir shawls they are frequently broken by threads of other colours coming to the surface in the process of weaving. The principles closely followed by the designer are the invariable use of flat forms without perspective or imitative rendering, the use of flat tints without shading, and the use of single tints or shades of the same colour.

The principal patterns in Jamewar are *rega-bootha* or small-flowered; *kirkha bootha* or large-flowered, and *jaldar* or netted pattern. *Ulwān* is woven like plain muslin without ornament. It forms the centre of shawls, turbans and cummerbands.

The finest *doshalas* (literally double shawls) are made in many varieties depending on the amount of decoration of the centre, the border being always heavily ornamented.

Great importance is attached to weaving in Assam where skill in the art is one of the highest achievements of a woman and is regarded with great respect. Manipuris are very skilled in the art and supply the Nagas with cloth of their own designs.

The social changes in the country, the modern outlook and changes in dress and the concentration on simplicity rather than on the grandeur associated with silk-woven and gold-laced clothes and, above all, the economic factors, have all contributed towards decreasing the demand for hand-woven material. The celebrated dhotis of Bengal and the lace-bordered *jarihaveshtis* of Salem in Madras are used only on rare occasions now. The superior hand-loom dhotis which were once replaced by Manchester have now been replaced by Indian mills.

The marketing of the products has been a problem among weavers. The cost of yarn varies from 50% to 80% depending on the quality produced while labour costs between 15% and 23%. The middleman's profit on some speciality fabrics goes even as high as 45%. Government has now taken upon itself not only to subsidise the industry but also to arrange for the marketing of the finished product through khadi Emporiums in all the large cities in the country.

Out of a total of two million hand-looms in 1948, the fly shuttle type (producing 7 yards per day of 9 hours) are most popular. About 64% were throw shuttle types (producing 4 yards per day of 9 hours) with 35% fly shuttles and 1% of other categories. In Travancore, as in other parts of the country, more and more of the fly shuttle types are being used and there is now quite a number of small power looms in use.

The production comprises cloth made of fine yarn above 20's; cloth interwoven with gold and silver thread; cloth with embellishments in border and design; short pieces to meet individual tastes, rough cloth of very low counts, etc. Among the major production are sarees, men's dhotis, sheets, table-cloths, bed spreads, etc.

The Muslim weaver or *jolaha* is the proverbial fool of Hindu stories and proverbs. He swims in the moonlight across fields of flowering linseed thinking the blue colour to be caused by water. He hears his family priest reciting the Quran and bursts into tears to the gratification of the reader. When pressed to tell what part affected him most, he says it is not the words, but the wagging beard of the old gentleman so much reminded him of a pet goat which had died. When forming one of a company of twelve he tries to count them and finding himself missing wants to perform his own funeral obsequies. He gets into a boat at night and forgets to pull up the anchor. After rowing hard the whole night he finds himself where he started and concludes that the only explanation is that his native village could not bear to lose him and followed after him. If there are nine weavers and nine *hukkas* they fight for the odd one. Once upon a time a crow carried off to the roof of

the house some bread which a weaver had given his child ; before giving the child some more he took the precaution of removing the ladder. Like the English fool he always gets unmerited blows. For instance, he once went to see a ram fight and got butted himself, as the saying runs :

*Karigah Chhar Tamasa jay,
Nahak Chot Jolaha Khay.*

"He left his loom to see the fun and for no reason got hurt."

His wife bears an equally bad character in the proverb, "Bahsali jolahani bapak darhi noche". A "wilful weaver's wife will pull her own father's beard."

Muslim weavers are known as *Jolahas* or *Momins*. The titles of the *jolahas* of Bengal are Malik, Mandal and Shikdar. Here the headman is called the *muatabar*.

Jolahas have in many cases given up their traditional profession and have taken to petty shopkeeping, service and even professions like law and medicine ; but most of them still patiently and unobtrusively ply the trade of their fathers, living on a bare subsistence level, content to turn out material on their poor looms which may clothe a labourer or provide inspiration to such famous Western fashion creators as Christian Dior or Jacques Fath.

Until the 15th century, practically the whole of Europe continued to import piece-goods from India and the export trade in cotton goods from India to Asia Minor, Africa and South Europe had grown to enormous proportions. The fall of Constantinople cut off the old trade routes between Europe and Asia and led to an intensification of the efforts of navigators to discover a sea-route to India. The sea route *via* the Cape of Good Hope discovered by Vasco da Gama at the end of the 15th century facilitated trade with England. Throughout the 17th century trade expanded rapidly so much so that in 1700 a Bill was introduced in the British Parliament prohibiting the import of Indian cotton altogether in 1721 the "Calico Act" prohibiting the use and wear of "all printed, painted, flowered or dyed Calicoes in apparel, household stuffs, furniture or otherwise" was passed and penal measures were prescribed for breach of this law. This was a contributory factor to the development of cotton manufactures in England while dealing a death blow to Indian manufactures. In 1787 the export of Dacca muslin to England had amounted to thirty lakhs of rupees, while in 1817 it had ceased altogether and Manchester and Lancashire became world emporiums for cotton goods. It was at an early stage that Britain had given evidence of her intention of treating India as a source of raw materials and to the end of her hold on India she refused to encourage industrialisation of the country.

Between 1765 and 1785, several inventions were made which revolutionised the textile industry. The Crompton Mule Spindle, patented in 1779, the Spinning Jenny patented by Hargreaves in 1770, the water-frame by Arkwright and the steam engine by James Watt in 1769 were the fundamental inventions which enabled England to spin thread that compared favourably with Indian thread and which laid the foundation stone of the Industrial Revolution that made the British produce better and cheaper goods. In 1774 England found itself in a strong enough position to abolish the Calico Act which had already destroyed the Indian Export Trade.

During the first half of the Nineteenth Century in India the decentralised cotton industry was practically destroyed and India became dependent on England and Japan for her clothing requirements and it was only in the first decade of the latter half of the century that the Indian cotton textile industry was born.

According to the District Gazetteer, "Cotton spinning and weaving of cloth in Howrah date back to the early days of British Administration." There appears to be some doubt regarding the name of the first mill. It may have been Bowreah, Fort Gloster or Glooter. It is interesting to note that to run the first cotton mills 'female labour' was brought out from Scotland. These young women could not cope with the climate and difficult living conditions and none survived. A cemetery near the site of the old building still contains their unmarked graves.

The Bombay Spinning and Weaving Co., the first cotton mill which commenced building in 1851 was completed in 1854. The Oriental Spinning and Weaving Company was started in 1858 and the Maneckji Petit Mills in 1860. The American Civil War and the yarn trade with China gave a great fillip to the inception of the industry on a large scale, and the number of mills in Bombay increased to ten with 2,50,000 spindles and 3,400 looms.

The crisis that followed the Civil War affected the industry, but it managed to stand the strain and by 1875, 17 new mills were started and the spindlage and loomage reached

7,50,000 and 8,000 respectively. According to the report of the Indian Tariff Board, the Millowners' Association complained that through this period "no assistance has been rendered by the Government to foster its growth and development on sound and healthy lines. On the contrary the Government pursued a policy calculated to hamper the growth of the industry by introducing tariff legislation which was neither fair nor equitable and which was in the highest degree prejudicial to the best interests of the industry."

Lancashire mill owners were noticing with growing alarm the development of the industry on its own merits even though production was limited mainly to yarn of lower counts. This agitation resulted in the abolition of duty on British cotton yarn and piece-goods with ruinous effects on the immediate prospects of the Indian industry. In 1896, 3½% excise duty on Indian manufactured cloth counteracted the import duty which had been imposed in 1894. The growth of the Mill industry in Japan during the same decade resulted in the rapid diminishing of export of yarn to China and Japan.

The Swadeshi movement which gained momentum in 1905 at the time of the partition of Bengal gave an impetus to the industry which began to give more attention to establishing and developing weaving sheds.

The years 1907-14 were gloomy ones for the industry owing to the heavy fall in the prices of yarn in China and the severe famine and unstable exchange in India itself.

During World War I the industry experienced unparalleled prosperity owing to the impossibility of obtaining normal imports from Lancashire. The difficulty of obtaining machines and heavy chemicals, however, prevented the starting of many new mills and only the existing mills profited from the prevailing favourable conditions. Whatever development took place was not in Bombay however but in upcountry cities like Ahmedabad and the Native States, since the factors which had conspired to make Bombay the industrial centre of India had undergone a change.

The localisation of the industry in Bombay was due mainly to cheap ocean transport to China which was the chief market for Indian goods. But after India lost its China market it found it necessary to concentrate more on the weaving side to meet civil and military demands during the war. The fundamental reason for location near the sea ceased to operate and the industry became more and more scattered. The high rents of land in Bombay, high taxation, increased labour trouble after the war, and strict labour legislation made it very difficult for Bombay to remain the centre. Between 1920 and 1930, therefore, there was a decrease in the number of mills in Bombay while the rest of the country registered an increase of 79 mills.

In the piecegoods trade, Indian mills greatly increased their output while imports declined. Industrialists discovered that production for the home market was much less risky and more profitable than yarn production for foreign markets. The industry found itself able to cope with coarser varieties of cloth and all military requirements of cloth in the Eastern theatres of war were supplied by it.

The war situation and the pre-occupation of Lancashire with war production gave India an opportunity for opening new markets in Persia, Asiatic Turkey, the Strait Settlements, Aden and Dependencies, East African Protectorates (including Zanzibar), Ceylon, etc.

Unfortunately, as has been noted above, full advantage could not be taken of the situation to expand the industry owing to the inability to import machinery and chemicals. The import of dyes went down by as much as 91% and the lack of plant and equipment as well as lack of transport facilities which prevented an increase in production gave Japan the opportunity to jump into the breach.

The post-war years saw a marked increase in the total production of yarn and cloth, both in Bombay and upcountry centres which provides sufficient evidence of the fact

that all mills were working to full capacity. Bombay still continued to produce more yarn and cloth than the rest of the country. The rise in the price of silver contributed to increased exports to China.

The fluctuation in exchange during this period accounted for the subsequent troubles of the industry. The sterling value of the rupee rose to as much as 2s. 11½d in February 1920. As the exchange rose orders for piecegoods and machinery were freely placed in the U.K., but owing to the pressure at which British industries were working several months elapsed before the orders could be fulfilled. By that time the rupee had fallen and importers had to face heavy losses.

As usual in a period of rising prosperity wages lagged behind profits and it was only later that wages were increased and hours of work decreased from 12 to 10. With Japan as a formidable competitor in the world market the mills found themselves only just able to keep their heads above water. The annual bonus instituted during the war was not paid in 1924 resulting in a two months' strike. In July 1925 the Millowners' Association declared their intention of reducing wages by 11½% and demanding the abolition of the excise duty by the Government. The proposed wage cuts were withdrawn.

The effect of the depression after 1922-23 is evidenced from the steep decline of the total earnings of the Bombay Mills. The net profits fell from Rs.388 lakhs in 1922 to Rs.33 lakhs in 1923 and there was a loss of Rs.92 lakhs in 1924, and a loss of Rs.134 lakhs in 1925, according to figures published in the Tariff Board Report, Cotton Textile Industry, 1927.

Surprisingly enough, when the rest of the world was suffering from the effects of depression India was enjoying a post-war boom. The depression came only after 1923 and was caused by many factors. Fluctuation in the prices of vital raw materials was one of the most important causes. Another vital factor was the emergence of Japan which rose rapidly owing to certain factors not possible in other countries. Defects in internal organisation were glaring and greatly contributed to the severity of the depression. Managing Agents over-capitalised the industries, which meant that heavy interest charges were to be paid even during the hard days of the industry. Inefficient equipment and machinery were installed particularly in up-country centres. The financial system of the country was particularly defective and the difficulty of obtaining long term block-capital owing to the absence of industrial banks in the country proved almost insurmountable.

The exchange muddle noted above added to the general confusion. Prices of commodities went down unaccompanied by a downward trend in wages. The fall in internal prices accentuated by lower rupee prices for agricultural products reduced the purchasing power of the agricultural classes who were the chief customers of the industry.

The Government refused to give the industry protection on the ground that an industry of such long standing should be able to stand on its own feet. After many protests, however, a Bill was passed removing import duties on textile machinery and mill stores and the imposition of a duty of 1½ annas on imported yarn and for the reduction from 15% to 7½% of the import duty on artificial silk yarn. Long and serious strikes of cotton operatives in Bombay prevented any revival before the onset of world-wide depression of 1929. Communal rioting also contributed to less production and the proportion of manufactured cotton exports diminished from 5% to 2% of the total. But in spite of all setbacks the industry progressed enough to force a diminishing of Lancashire exports by 1929.

Between 1929-1939, the industry was largely dominated by the tariff policy of the Government and the number of agreements signed by the Government with either England or Japan, and so the signing of the preferential treatment agreements with England and the sending of India off the gold standard affected the industry. In 1932, England entered into bilateral agreements with the European countries and India entered into an agreement

with England known as the Ottawa Agreement of 1932 according to which preferences were given by India to England and vice versa. A preference of 10% was given to England on cotton, silk and artificial silk manufactured in India over and above other articles. In return, England allowed free entry to certain goods and promised to popularise Indian goods abroad. This agreement was severely criticised since it benefited Lancashire at the expense of a few vague promises.

The Ottawa Pact terminated in 1936 and a new and more equitable agreement was signed between India and England.

The position of the industry on the eve of the second World War was very critical. Stocks had accumulated with consequent low prices. The Bombay Millowners' Association was contemplating voluntary reduction of production, but the war came and acted as a stimulating factor.

The prosperity of the industry now became unprecedented. After a minor setback in 1942 due to confusion following the exodus of labour after the bombing of Calcutta and fear of an attack on Bombay, the industry made rapid strides which it has since maintained in spite of control taxation and scarcity of dyes, chemicals and power. The number of mills increased during the war years from 389 with 1,00,59,370 spindles and 2,02,464 looms to more than 406 mills with 10 million spindles and 2 lakh looms in 1944 and capital investment reached the figure of 52 crores of rupees. An important factor in this progress was due to the monopolistic position of the industry since cessation of trade with Japan and virtual stoppage of imports from European countries. Among the eastern countries then open to trade India was the only country with a well-developed cotton textile industry.

A critical time for consumers was feared as the production was much less than the demand. The consumer suffered greatly owing to the stoppage of mills at Ahmedabad due to a strike following the arrest of popular leaders in 1942. A precipitous rise in prices brought high profits to manufacturers but also brought rigid Government Control to protect consumers and to arrange for the efficient supply of cotton piecegoods for Government requirements.

Labour was quiet owing to a sufficient dearness allowance but the same allowance became an important item of the cost of production. Government measures imposing heavy taxation from the very beginning of boom conditions and universal shortage told heavily on profits and mill-owners were prevented from accumulating as much money as they might have done otherwise.

Production of cotton piecegoods, cotton twist and yarn increased during both Wars owing to the unprecedented demand from both military and civilian quarters. In World War I, production of coloured goods increased from 251.4 million yards to 475.7 million yards in 1919-1920. In World War II it increased from 926 million yards in 1939 to 1,104 million yards in 1942 in spite of the embargo on import of aniline dyes. The production of shirtings, dhoties, tent-cloth, domestics and sheetings, drills and jeans increased rapidly during both wars as did other goods also.

The marked increase in production, however, did not reflect any increase in the efficiency of the industry during the War. It was only due to the fact that the existing equipment of the mills was being used to the fullest extent by running double and treble shifts.

Standardisation of various classes of cotton materials required by the army were made and specifications suited to Indian conditions were effected. The handloom industry was not much utilised though a quantity of webbing and tape was made by village workers. Indian mills, to meet the war demands, had to evolve several new fabrics—the water-tube mixture to replace flex canvas and khaki twills for shirtings. A special shade of khaki was demanded and three formulae were circulated among mill-owners for dyeing with vegetable

khaki colours. The heavy canvas required special reeds and folded yarns and it was found that the doubling machinery in India was inadequate and so as many as five foldings were required to impart sufficient strength to the material.

Production of twist and yarn between 1 to 20 counts showed a declining tendency between 1909-1914. Medium count production showed an increase in 1918-19, while the production of 40 counts and above showed an increase between 1917-18 but declined later on. Ahmedabad was one of the important centres which developed higher count production although the war saw increased production in all types.

Indian silk has always been a prized commodity wherever it went and until a few years ago it was unthinkable for an Indian to wear any silk that did not emanate from the silk worm. The discovery of a synthetic fibre that gave a soft, gleaming fabric to the world at about half the price of Nature's product marks a stage of revolution in the Textile Industry of the world.

The Indian, with his innate conservatism, was at first chary of the new fabric and called it just 'kela' (banana) and considered its use a reflection on his taste and economic status. However, the cheap, beautiful fabrics soon caught the imagination of even the most conservative and artificial silk mills sprang up all over the country.

The industry was first granted protection in 1934 and by 1939 the demand had risen to nearly 70 tons per day, most of which were supplied through imports particularly from Japan. Till 1945 there was no rayon mill in India. The first company formed in Travancore and known as Travancore Rayons Ltd., was started for the manufacture of viscose rayon. Other mills soon sprang up and made good progress.

Owing to the difficulty of procuring supplies of essential raw materials such as pulp and caustic soda the production of yarn was considerably hampered. One caustic soda plant has been started and others will probably follow. Possibility of production of pulp are also being explored and once factories are set up in the country the industry will become self-sufficient.

With regard to exports, Indian artificial silk goods have proved uncompetitive in the matter of quality, price, packing, etc., when compared with goods imported from Japan, Italy, U. S. A., etc. The Indian Standards Institution has already initiated action to formulate standards for rayon fabrics.

The largest number of artificial silk mills (1,327 out of a total of 1,569) are concentrated in the Bombay State.

The weaving of artificial silk fabrics bring livelihood to thousands of workers. The Planning Commission in its 'Programmes of Industrial Development, 1951' has estimated the number of handlooms engaged in the manufacture of art-silk fabrics at 181,278. The handloom industry uses both cotton and art silk yarn together or as alternatives.

The prominent raw material required for the manufacture of art silk fabrics is art silk yarn. The demand for this yarn by the art-silk industry and other industries such as hosiery and knitted goods, gas mantles, embroideries, border-making, lace-trimming, braids and imitation 'jari', was estimated by the Tariff Board in 1951 at 75,000,000 lbs per annum. Owing to the operation of Import Control Policy shortages were experienced resulting in high prices.

There are, at present three units in India manufacturing rayon yarn at Bombay, Hyderabad and Travancore and one manufacturing staple fibre at Nagda.

Indian manufacturers are quick to gauge public taste and cater to it. Most of two imported fabrics are now quickly copied in India and because of the high prices of imported articles those of indigenous manufacture have become more easily acceptable and command a ready market.

Certain measures of assistance have been asked from the Government by the manufacturers and with these forthcoming the industry should soon be able to compete with any in the world.

Sericulture is carried on in many parts of India as a subsidiary of agriculture. It has made great headway in Mysore and Madras where the total annual production of raw silk is estimated at 15 lakhs and 3 lakhs pounds respectively. In Bombay State the industry has not made much progress due to competition from food crops. In West Bengal the industry is of long standing, while in East Punjab it is considered one of the best subsidiary industries, the total annual production of raw silk being estimated at 130 maunds. In Bihar, 50,000 people are engaged in tussor silk worm rearing, the estimated total annual production being 100,000 lbs. In Madhya Pradesh the total annual production of reeled silk is estimated at 160,000 lbs, while in Kashmir where the industry is fairly well-advanced, the estimated production of superior silk is 1.6 lakhs lbs.

In most centers silk weaving is still done on hand looms, but in certain place like Bangalore power looms are used.

The first two woollen mills were started in 1876, one at Kanpur and the other at Dhariwal. By 1914, the number had increased to four. The War gave a fillip to the industry but foreign competition proved too strong and resulted in a depression in 1925-33. With the recovery of the post-depression period the industry began to develop and by 1939 the number of mills had risen to twenty. The Second World War was a further incentive to production because of lack of imports and army requirements. At present there are 42 mills in the country with a total capacity of 30,000,000 lbs. The industry is mainly located in the Punjab, Bombay, U.P., Mysore and Kashmir. Beside the organised section of the industry there are more than 100,000 handlooms engaged in weaving.

The woollen handloom industry in U.P. and the Punjab is practically confined to the manufacture of coarse blankets, rough pile carpets and druggets. Here the growing of wool is a by-product of the production of mutton and manure. Only in some hilly tracts, where better grazing is obtainable, does one find a superior fabric. This is true especially of Kashmir which is the home of the famous 'Pashmina' fabrics.

Raw materials for the industry, known as "East Indian" wools, are procured from Persia, Tibet, Iraq and Afghanistan and India itself. The imported wools are, for the most part, superior to that obtained indigenously. The best Indian wools are those obtained from Bikaner, the Punjab, Cutch and Western India. The quality deteriorates as we go further south and east. They are suitable for the manufacture of blankets and tweeds and for carpet. A good deal of the wool used in South India is "tannery wool" and is taken from the pelt of the dead animal. This is cheaper than other wools and is used only for mixing with them.

Wool is mainly exported from Australasia, Argentina and Mexico and is divided into Crossbreds and Merinos depending on the relative coarseness of the fibre. Merino wools are very fine and can be spun into fine counts.

The distinction between woollens, and worsteds depends on the selection of wool. Worsteds can be made only with fibres of sufficient length to be combed. In the manufacture of wool, however, the shortest fibres can be made use of and the use of 'recovered' wool (wool obtained from rags), cotton and wastes for blending with virgin wool is confined to the woollen side of the industry. Typical examples of woollen fibres are blankets, tweeds, blaze-cloth, flannels, etc.; of worsteds, tropical suitings, serges, shawls, most knitted goods, etc.

Most Indian wools are unsuited for the worsted process and for this India has to depend on imported wool of the Australian type.

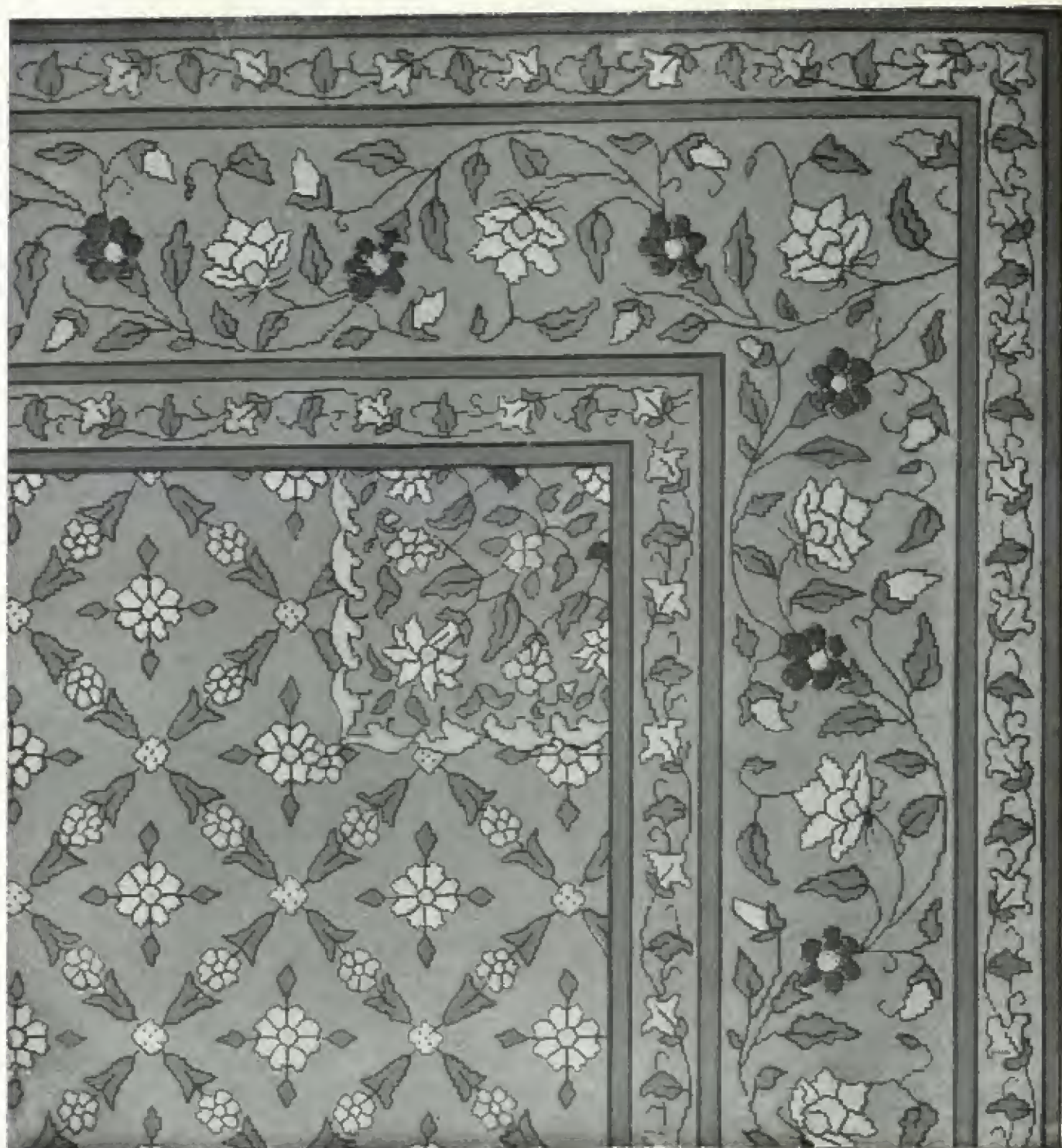


EMBROIDERED SARI IN PHULKARI WORK, FROM AMRITSAR
 This beautiful example shows the brilliancy and beauty of colouring
 obtained by the Punjab dyers with their native dye stuffs.

(From *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Vol. 1)



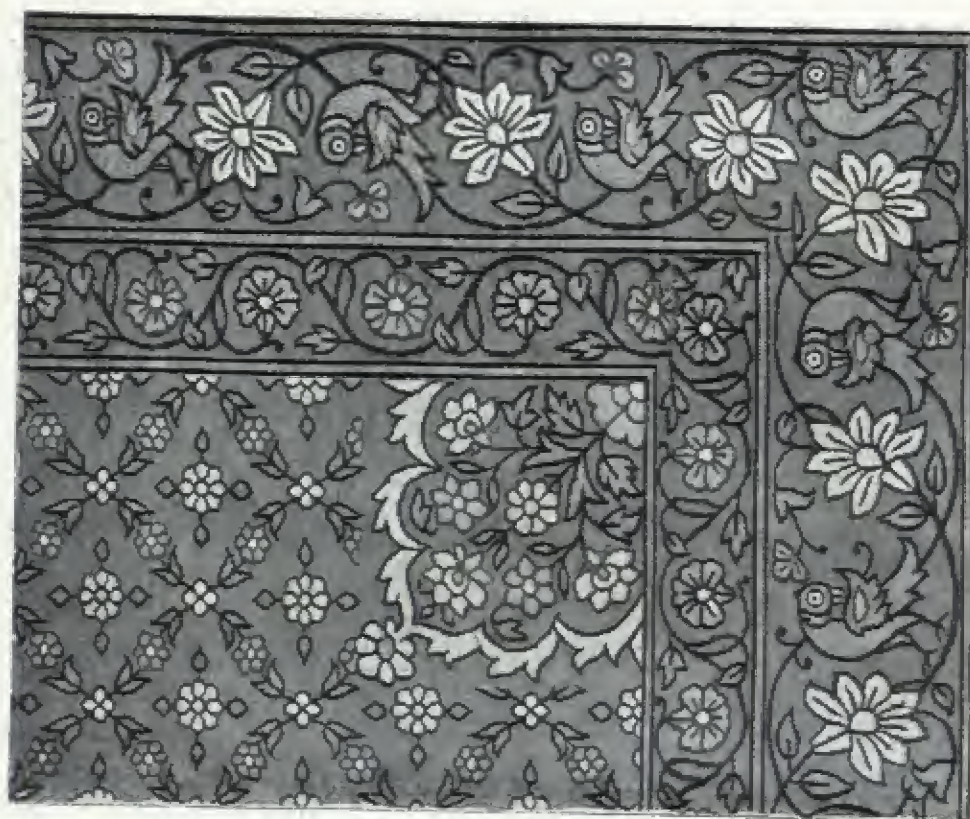
BANDHANA WORK
 (Knot Dyeing or Tye- and Dye Work).
 This is a most elaborate and beautiful specimen called in Ulwar,
Dhuppatti



SPECIMEN OF KINKHAB FROM AHMEDABAD

This is a part of a square piece

(From *Industrial Arts of the XIXth Century at the Great Exhibition* by M. Digby Wyatt)



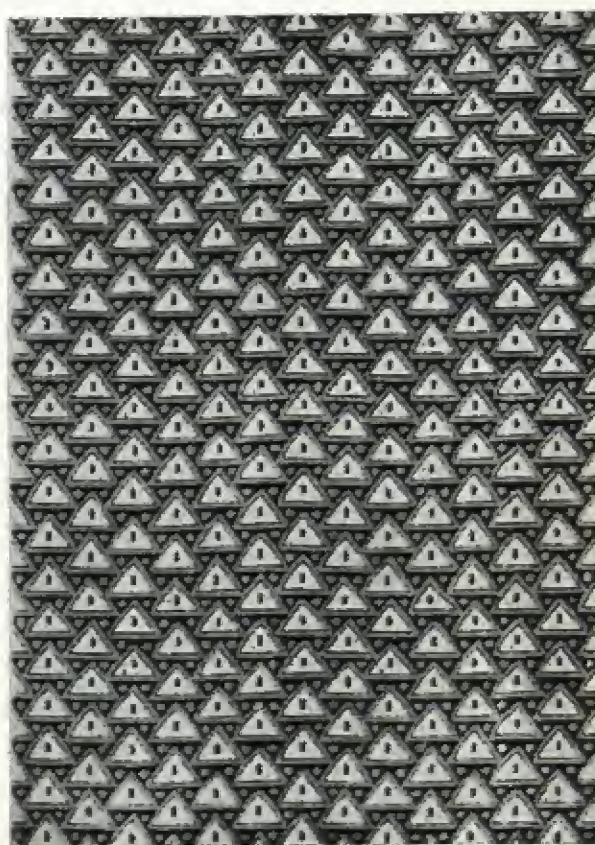
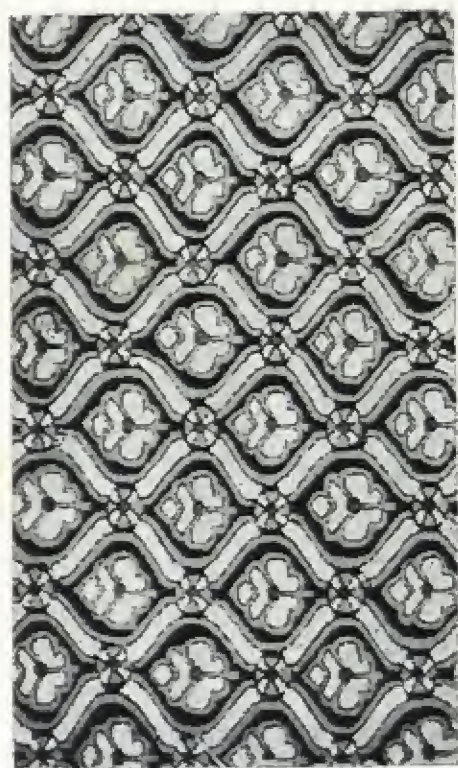
KINKHAB TABLE COVER FROM AHMEDABAD

In gold and silver interspersed with purple, green and red silk on a black background. The design in the centre is called "tara mandal" or constellation of stars. The border in five bands is known as "popat-vela"—a creeper with parrots.



BANARASI KINKHAB (PAU KOTHAMA CHARDENI)

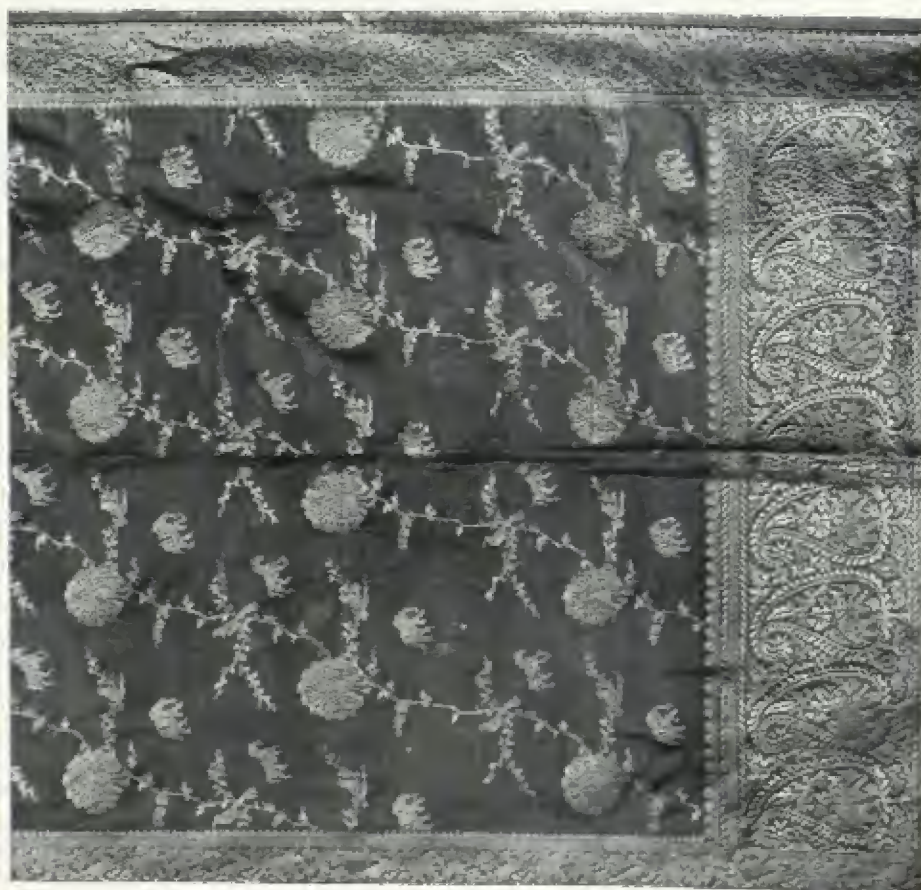
(From *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry*)



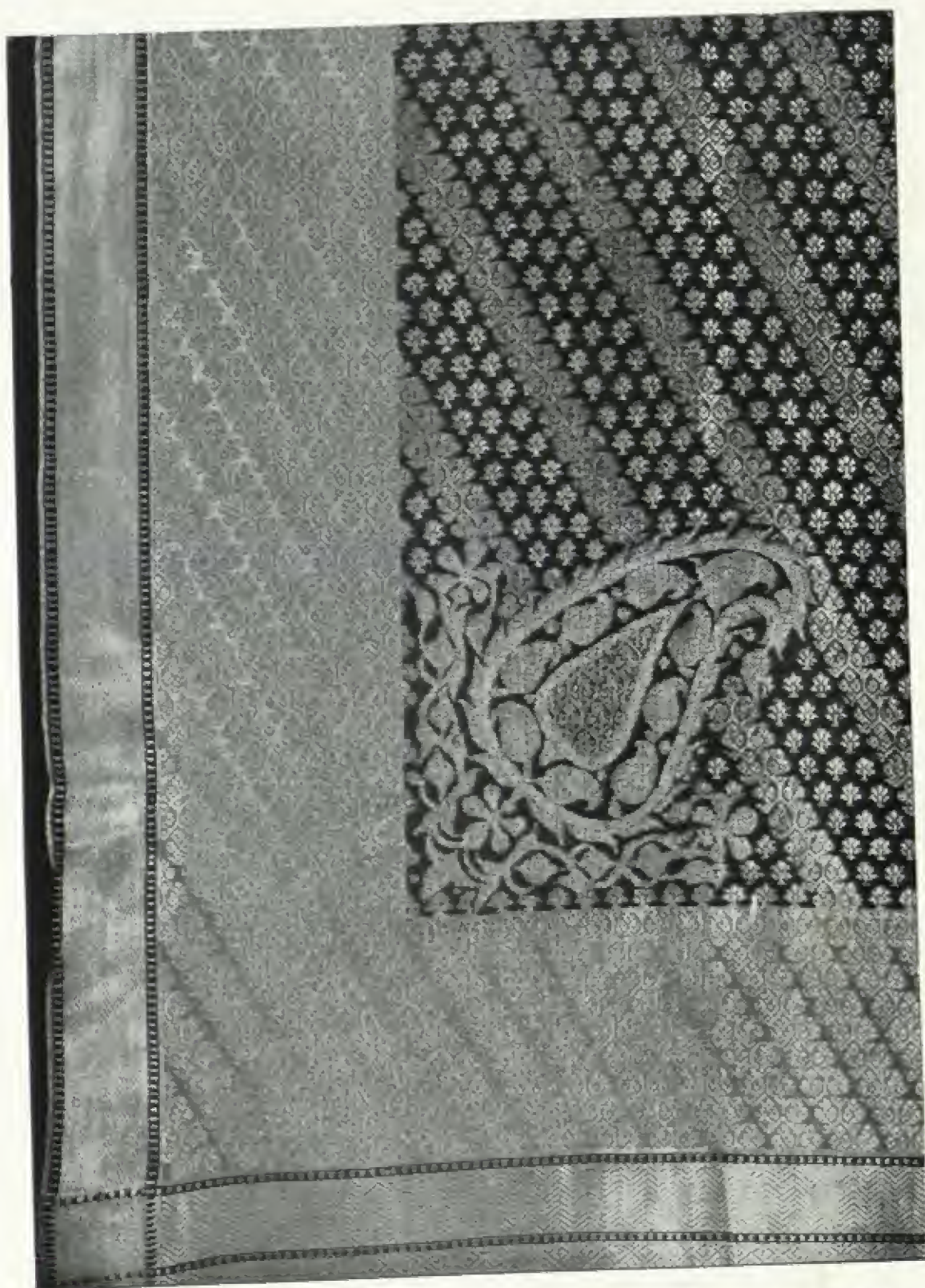
FOUR SPECIMENS OF KINKHABS FROM SURAT
Woven with gold and silver thread on silk
(From *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry*)



KASHMIRI SHAWL. A.D. 1794
(In the State Historical Museum, U.S.S.R.)

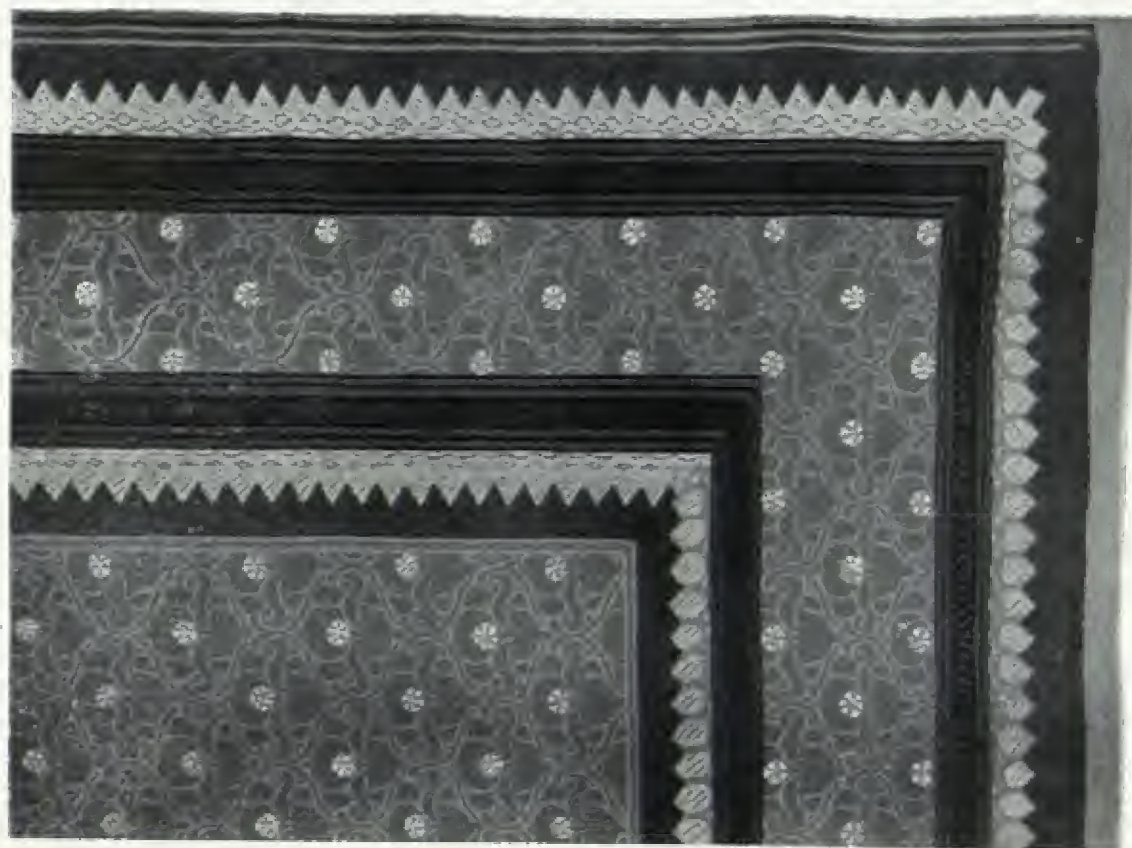


SILK CLOTH ORNAMENTED WITH GOLD THREAD, MODERN, BANARAS
(In State Museum of Oriental Culture, U.S.S.R.)

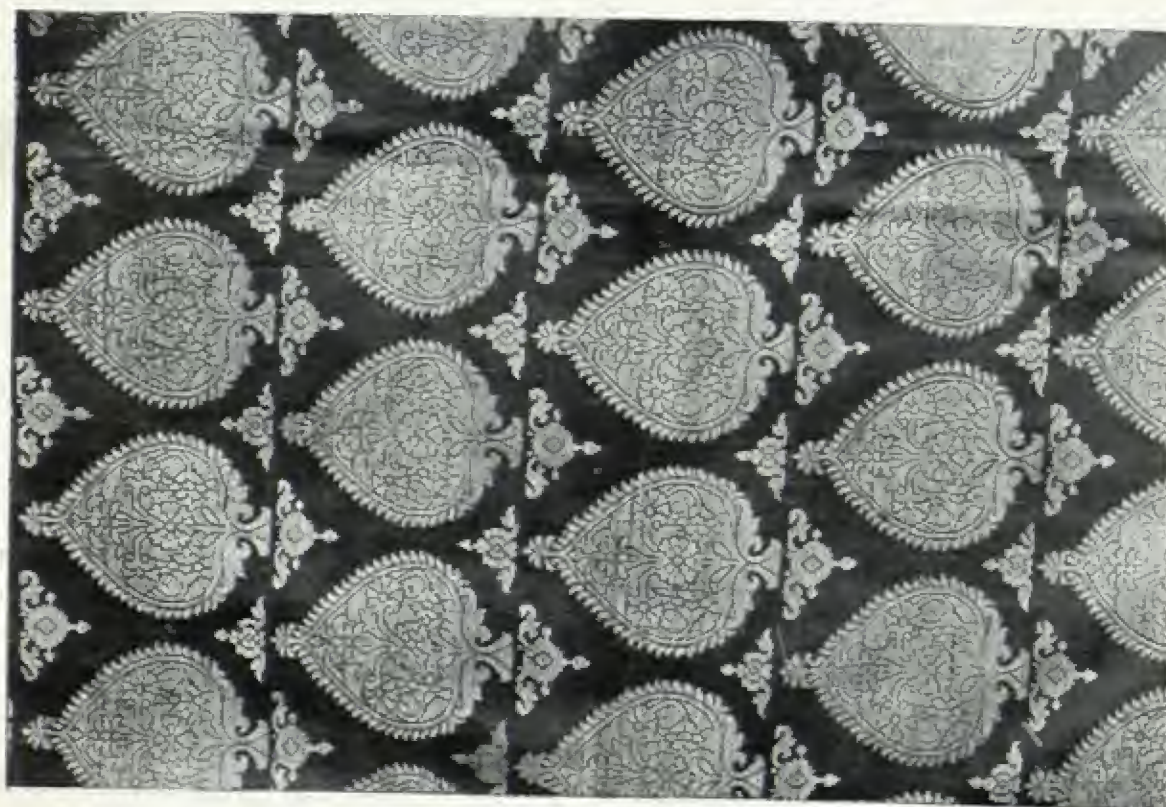


SARI WITH ORNAMENTATION IN GOLD AND SILVER THREAD. Banaras, late 18th century

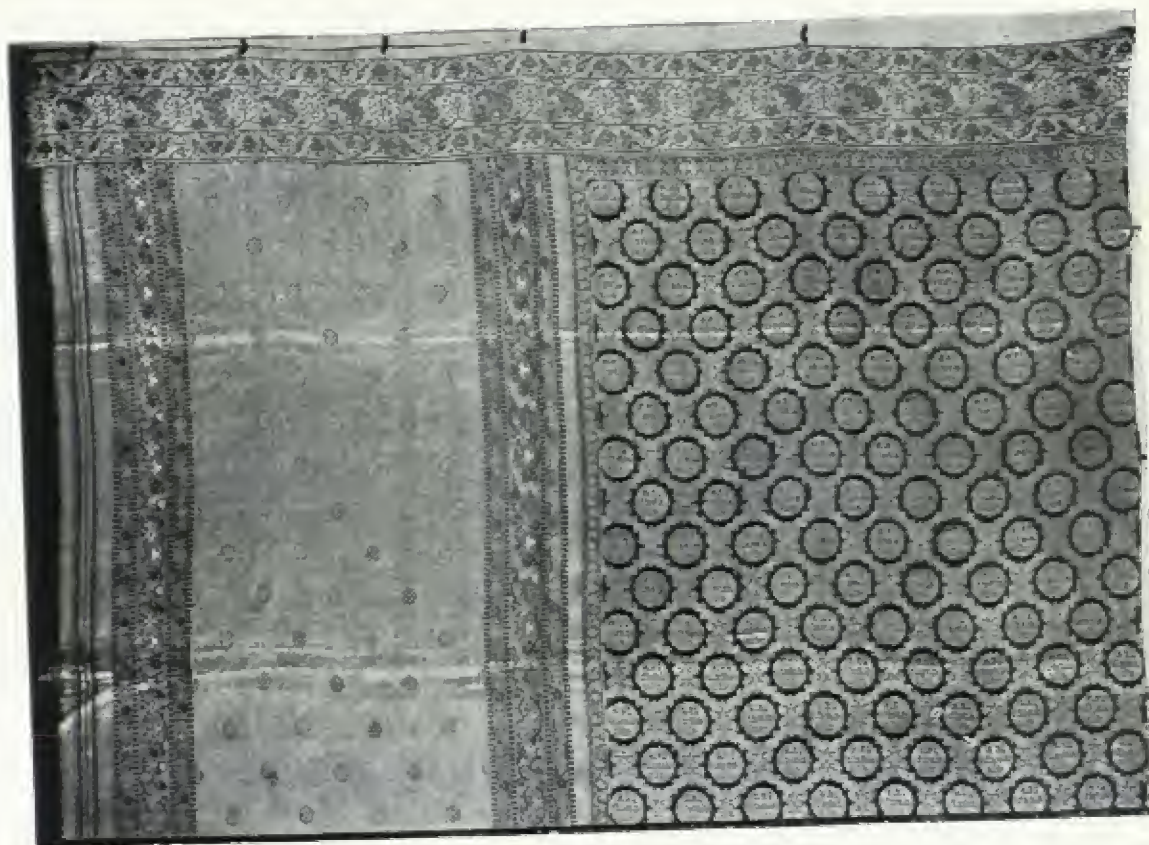
(From *State Hermitage*, U.S.S.R.)



SPECIMEN OF KINKHAB (GOTA VELA)
(From *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Vol. 1)



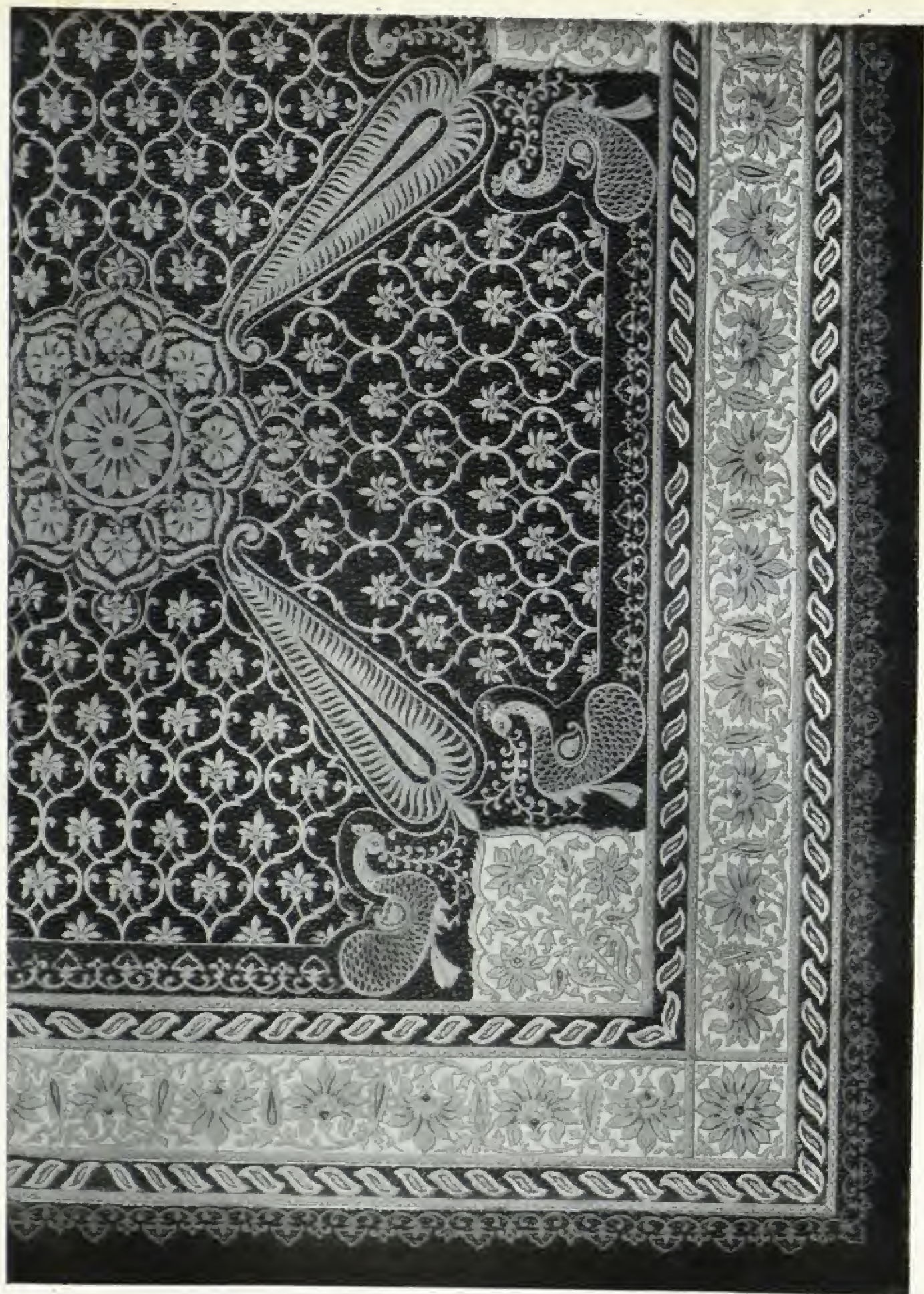
KINKHAB. BANARAS, 18th Century
(By Courtesy of *Bharat Kala Bhawan*)



GOLD BROCADE SARI
(By Courtesy of Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery)

GOLD AND SILVER BROCADE
(From *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry*)





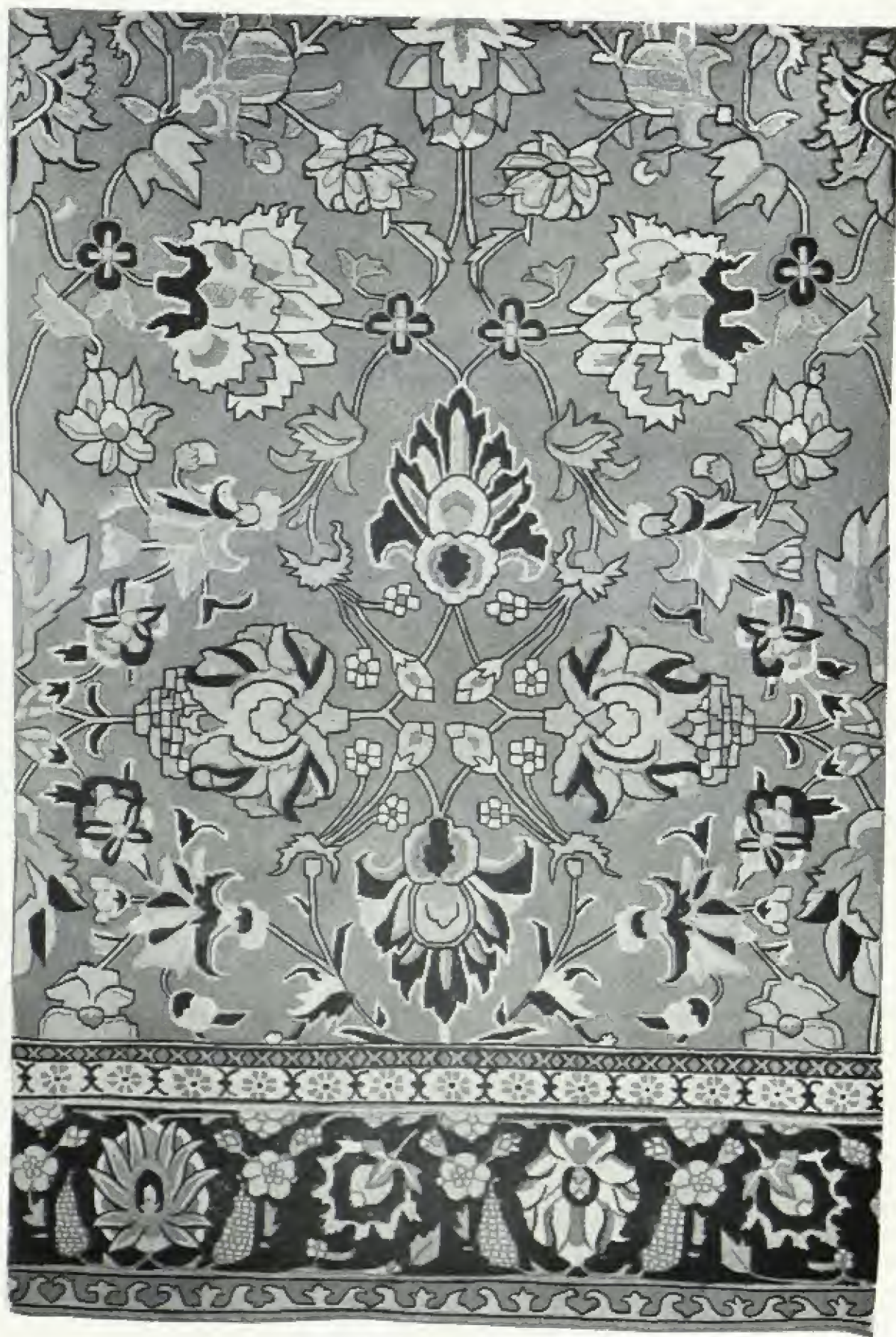
GOLD AND SILVER EMBROIDERED VELVET CARPET FROM TRIPPLICANE

A magnificent example that with its richness of effect is neither gaudy nor glaring

(From *Masterpieces of Industrial Art and Sculpture at the International Exhibition 1892* by J. B. Waring)



WOOLLEN CARPET FROM THE PUNJAB
(From *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Vol. XI)



WOOLLEN CARPET FROM JAIPUR
(From *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Vol. XI)



WOOLLEN PILE CARPET FROM HYDERABAD
(From *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Vol. XI)



WOOLLEN PILE CARPET FROM VELLORE, SOUTH INDIA
(From *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Vol. XI)



WOOLLEN PILE CARPET FROM SRINAGAR. KASHMIR

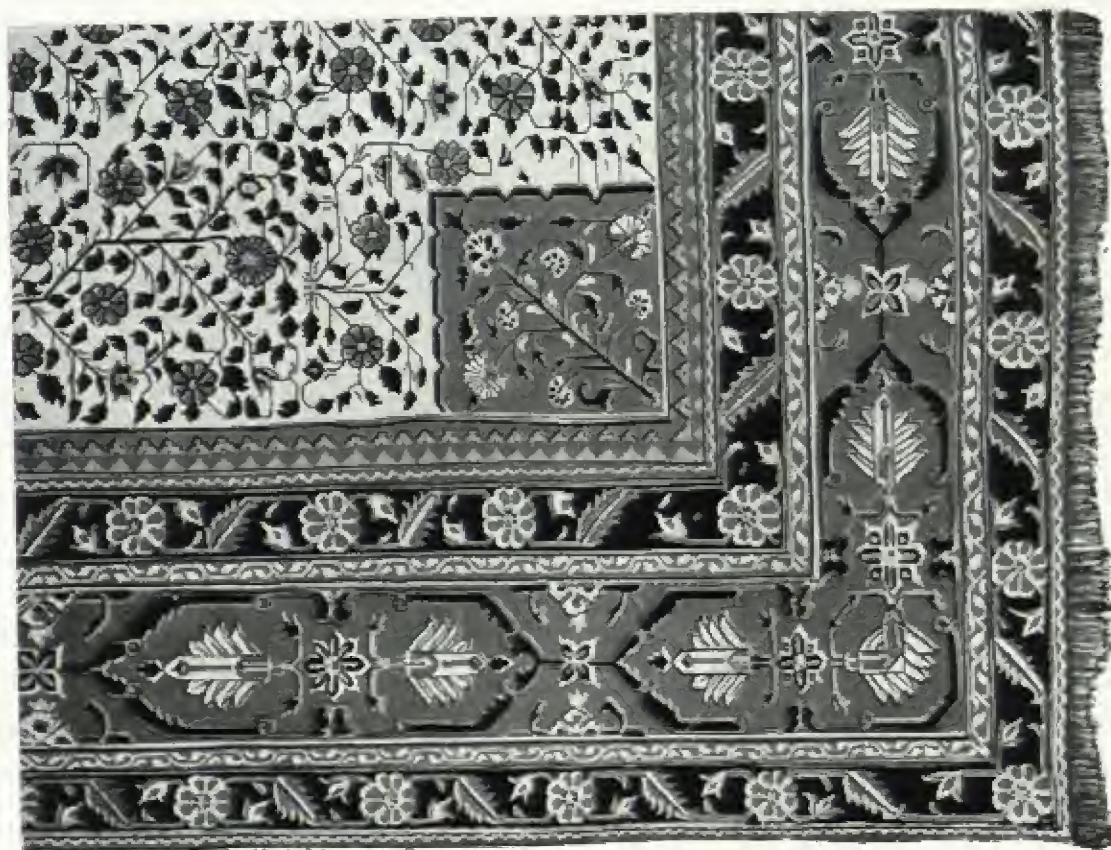
(From *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Vol. XI)



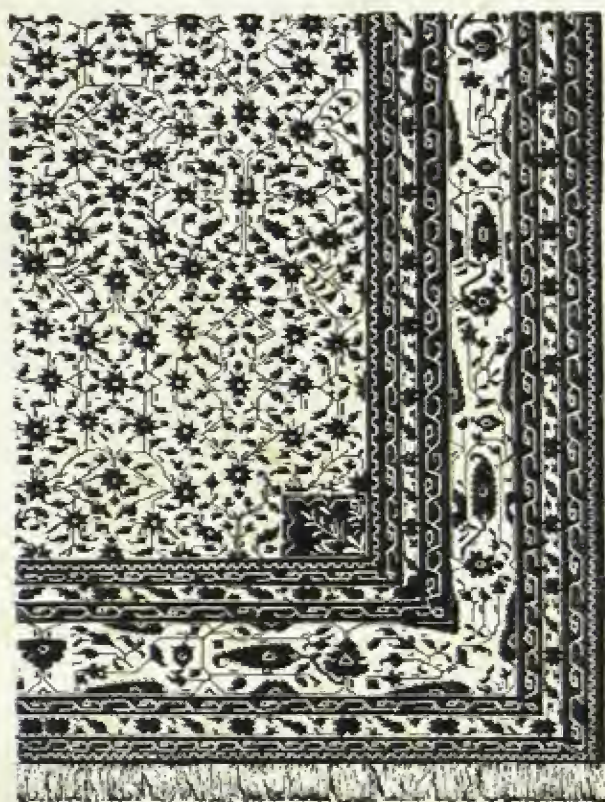
WOOLLEN PILE CARPET FROM MIRZAPUR
(From *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Vol. XI)



FRAGMENT OF SILK CARPET, Central India, 15th. century
(From *State Hermitage*, U.S.S.R.)



A FINE EXAMPLE OF A COTTON CARPET
(From *The Textile Manufactures and Costumes of India* by F. Forbes Watson)



FOUR EXAMPLES OF INDIAN CARPETS AND RUGS

(From *The Textile Manufactures and the Costumes of the People of India* by J. Forbes Watson)

The hosiery industry has been in existence in India for over sixty years. It received a great fillip from the Swadeshi movement at the beginning of the century and made more progress during World War I. Competition from Japan and the world-wide trade depression affected it adversely for a few years after 1926, but it revived rapidly when afforded protection by the Government in 1934. World War II gave a further fillip to the industry.

The main centres of the industry are in Bombay, the Punjab, U.P. and West Bengal. The units vary greatly in size and include large-scale textile factories, hosiery factories employing power-driven machines, and small factories working on a cottage industry basis. The composite units are in an advantageous position with regard to supplies of yarn as compared to purely knitting units.

The industry consists of different branches, according to the use of cotton, wool or silk yarn used in knitting. Of these the most important is the cotton hosiery section which accounts for 85% of the total production of the industry.

The origin of the Indian carpet industry dates back to the seventeenth century when Mughal carpets were known for their intricacy of design and high skill of excellence. Carpets are now made at Mirzapore, Bhadohi and Agra in U.P., Ellora and Masulipatam in Madras State, Amritsar in the Punjab, Srinagar in Kashmir, and Kalimpong in W. Bengal. More than 50% of the export manufacture is controlled by Bhadohi and Mirzapore. Amritsar and Srinagar carpets are famous for floral designs in beautiful shades, while Masulipatam and Ellora produce pile-carpets of Persian design and druggets, while Amritsar and Kalimpong use Tibetan designs. Like the textile handloom industry the carpet industry is in the hands of agents and not of the artisans. The middleman purchases the wool, dyes it in his own factory and has the carpets manufactured by artisans to particular designs.

As it is the most important cottage industry earning foreign exchange, the carpet industry is receiving special attention from the Government with a view to export standard and quality products. More than 90% of the production is exported to U.K. and other Commonwealth countries and the U.S.A. Its popularity may be seen from export figures from 30.35 lakhs of rupees in 1942-43 to 552.86 lakhs of rupees in 1950-51.

The industrial development of a country depends on a well developed organisation for manufacture of machinery. Until recently, India's dependence on foreign countries for import of capital goods hampered progress in the textile industry. The manufacture of looms and bobbins was first undertaken in India during World War II, when foreign supplies were scarce. Now there are six manufacturing units for looms in the country although only three are in regular production.

Indigenous looms compare favourably with imported ones as regards quality and performance and given necessary facilities manufacturers will, no doubt, be able to effect further improvement.

A study of labour conditions during the two Wars shows awakening of labour. During World War I the migratory character of labour was the fundamental drawback in Bombay and Ahmedabad. The problem of absenteeism during the harvesting season and at the beginning of the month was a serious problem. The system of recruitment of labour by sirdars was prevalent and factory workers hardly ever came in touch with their employers. This system, with slight modifications of the powers of and oppression by the jobbers prevails even today.

By the Factory Act of 1911, children were prohibited to work more than six hours a day, while night work was prohibited for both women and children. Adult working hours were restricted to twelve and gradually more extensive provisions relating to health and safety were introduced.

However, conditions of work were, and still are, far from satisfactory. There was no proper ventilation, fencing of machines or dehumidification in factories. Arrangements

for dining sheds, bathing and latrine facilities were practically absent. To avoid breakage of thread and loss of material a number of artificial humidification plants were installed, particularly in the drier areas and affected the health of workers. Rarely was any restriction placed by the Government on the use of impure water which is injurious to the health of operatives. The Industrial Commission Report insisting on the needs of domestic sanitation remarked, "The needs of domestic sanitation in large towns are more pressing.

"The problem, not only on moral grounds, but also for economic reasons, must be solved with the least avoidable delay, if the existing and future industries of India are to hold their own against the ever growing competition which will be still fiercer after the War."

Low wages, absence of welfare activities, long hours of work, absence of recreation, insanitary surroundings, bad housing and illiteracy are all factors which contribute to the great inefficiency of Indian labour.

The Western industrialist today has realised that one way of competing in the market is to win the full co-operation of labour by giving his employee a personal interest in improving the industry. This he has done by giving them shares in the industry so that the incentive to increased output becomes compelling.

The Indian industrialist, on the other hand, has never learnt to treat labour in a humanitarian manner that would not only raise the standard of living and provide a permanent class of industrial labour, but would also raise profits since improved conditions will lead to better work and, hence, larger output.

The year 1920 was the peak year of labour unrest with volcanic outbursts of strikes all over the world. The War caused a serious dislocation in the machinery of production and distribution throughout the world. Wages lagged behind prices. The Indian labourer living on the barest margin away from the chastening influence of his home became a prey to morbidity. Russian Bolshevik doctrines affected him in spite of his illiteracy and he lost his age-old veneration for his master and would no longer tolerate abuse, insults or physical punishment. Political movements made great strides in the post-war period and contributed to labour unrest.

The first conference of Bombay labourers was organised in 1884 and a memorandum setting forth their grievances for presentation to the Bombay factory labour commission was drawn up. Mass meetings were held in later years and gradually labour demands were conceded by mill-owners.

The first labour organisation came into existence in 1890 and the labour journal 'Deenabandhu' was started about the same time. A number of labour organisations sprang up during and after the War. These organised a number of successful strikes. The movement received a slight set back in 1923 owing to improved economic conditions. It received a stimulus again after the passing of the Trade Unions Act of 1926 which contained protective clauses with a view to allow development of genuine associations. Regular sessions of the All India Trade Union Congress began to be held in 1920 and by 1929 the Congress was captured by the left wing. This brought into existence a rival body known as the National Trade Union Federation. Later, unity was achieved and the two merged to form a single organisation. In 1948 the Indian National Trade Union Congress was formed as a rival body and the two still function separately.

APPENDIX

THE WEAVERS ART OF BENGAL

By

SUROVI BHATTACHARJEE

Behula prepares herself for the dance. She selects with infinite care her sari, among the many exquisite and colourful ones, which brighten her room with a rainbow glow.

Her first choice is the *Jatra-sid* sari, meaning "auspicious journey." In it there is beautiful embroidery of people dancing and singing as in play. She does not like it and wears another called the "Sovereign of Saris" or the *Kapader Raja*. She changes it for another called the *Monjaphul*, as soft and white as the flower of the Kusa grass. This sari is very fine and costly. Each tola of thread, with which it is woven, costs no fewer than fifty rupees. Behula minutely observes the sari after wearing it and rejects it also. Then Behula brings out the sari called *Agni-phul*, the spark of flame. It suits the beauty of Behula well and she puts it on. After minutely observing it, she dances with joy. (Mamasa Mangal Poems).

The same ballad describes how the goddess Padma put round her narrow waist the sari called *Ganga-jali*—meaning the Ganges water, for its fine texture and white colour.

Again in the Ramayana we find the description of a blue sari—blue like the sky—with red borders, representing various birds.

Radha's favourite choice was also the dark blue or *Megh-dambur*—meaning "Collection of black clouds." "The beautiful Radha wore a thin red cloth over which she put a blue coloured Sari."

There are references in our folk-lore of a sari called *Asman Tara* which when kept on the ground resembled the sky in appearance. When taken in hand, it dazzled the eyes. If placed high it seemed to become invisible.

Our ancient literature, legends and folklores of eleventh and twelfth centuries are full of references to beautiful saris women wore in those days. Their lyrical names describe the distinctive qualities which each of those saris possessed. They also reveal the degree of perfection which the twin arts of spinning the thread and weaving the fabrics attained in Bengal in those days.

"The mention of these (saris) are in perfect accord with the traditional reputation of the country (Bengal) for fine weaving" which will also stand a historical test. The production of cloths of superb fineness in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries proves that "the art of weaving in Bengal has retained its perfection of the Hindu days, as late as the later Mohomedan period."

Once a nobleman of the Moghul Court was gaily riding by the countryside in Bengal. He heard a voice frantically asking him to stop. Unaware as to what had happened, the nobleman halted and to his amazement, a weaver recovered some muslin—lighter than a cobweb in the grass—from under one of the hooves of the horse. Such was the fineness of the muslins woven by weavers of Dacca in those days.

The poets at the Moghul Court described these exquisite muslins as "*Abrawan*"—running water—or "*Shabnam*"—morning dew. The *Abrawan* was so fine that it became invisible if thrown into a steam. So was the *Shabnam* when spread on the ground could be scarcely distinguished from dew on the grass.

The value of Dacca Muslins consists in their fineness. A piece of muslin twenty yards long and one yard wide, after being drawn through an ordinary finger ring, was considered fit to be presented to the king emperor—hence the fanciful name "*Sangali*"—meaning "For presentation" was given to the finest of the Dacca muslin—the "*Mulmul Khas*" or the royal muslin.

"The spinning wheel was employed for the ordinary and coarser fabrics, but the spindle still holds its place in the hands of the Hindu women when employed in spinning thread for the fine and delicate muslins." The Hindus believed that "the first, the best, and the most perfect of instruments is the human hand."

Thus the muslin of matchless delicacy was produced with infinite care bestowed by the spinners and weavers on every stage of their work, "aided by the delicacy of touch for which the Hindus have been long famous."

Before the introduction of machine made thread into India—in Dhamurai, a village near Dacca, women used to spin thread for the finest muslins with fingers only, direct from the finest cotton.

Mahommed Ali Beg, who was an Ambassador in India, on his return to Persia, presented the Shah a pearl-studded cocoanut shell. On opening it the Shah found a turban piece of Indian muslin—sixty cubits long.

The more common mode of packing muslins was to enclose them in hollow joints of bamboo, forming a tube, after the muslin was compressed and twisted round pieces of stick. It was said "a bamboo tube of eighteen inches in length and one inch in diameter was sufficiently large to contain a muslin twenty-two yards in length and one yard broad."

The *Mulmul Khas* muslins were brought to Dacca from the Government weaving centres in bamboo cases which were lacquered and beautifully gilded. Like all other offerings to the Emperor, they were paraded in great pomp through the streets of the town to the residence of the Nawab. Then they were despatched to Delhi where ruled the great Moghuls with their fabulous wealth and pageantry. "During the reigns of the Moghul Emperors—Jehangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb, the manufacture of the famous gossamer like muslins was in full operation and the finest muslins were supplied for the imperial wardrobe at Delhi, from Dacca."

There is a story about Emperor Aurangzeb's daughter. The Emperor was once very angry with her for wearing a dress that was too revealing for modesty. Whereupon the young princess justified herself by saying that she had seven Jamahs or (dresses) on.

Dacca not only supplied the finest muslins for the Imperial wardrobe, but at one time it was "The great emporium of trade in cotton fabrics in Bengal. It had trade connections with China, Turkey, Syria, Arabia, Ethiopia and Persia. It also exported its embroidered fabrics to Southern Europe."

From the accounts of the travellers of ancient times it is evident that fabrics were exported from Bengal to the ports of the west coast of India and travelled along with peacocks and monkeys to the Court of King Solomon and to the palaces of the Roman Emperors.

The Romans described these superbly woven fine cotton from the east as "*Venti*" or woven air. In the time of the Greek scholar Arrian, the Greeks called them "*Gangitika*". The bards of Bengal in eleventh and twelfth centuries referred to them as "*Ganga-jali*", while the poets of the Moghul Court described these fabrics or muslins of matchless delicacy as "*Shabnam*" or morning dew.

So the fine cloths which looked like woven air—which becomes invisible when spread on the dewy grass, and which was transparent like the running water of the Ganges, are evidently all woven in the same area. It is specially significant that poets of different countries paid almost identical tribute in many tongues to the Gossamer-fine textiles of Bengal. The Venti—or woven air—of the Romans, Gangitika of the Greeks, Gagajali of the Bengalis and the *Shabnam* of the Moghuls, obviously had so much similarity in the imagery as to be coincidental. It is more than likely that they were all referring to the same thing.

"Hamsa", as the "Vahana" or mount of Brahma, has a sacred association. It not only occurs frequently in Hindu and Buddhist architecture, but it is also used by the weavers as a decorative motif on textiles.

A mural in Ajanta depicts a scene of a royal procession where the King and the Queen on horseback is followed by a maiden fanning them with a "Chauri". Her close-fitting 'Choli' is decorated with rows of geese and so is her sari. She is wearing the famous "Hamsa-Lakshana" described in our literature.

Richly decorated dresses of ladies, portrayed in Ajanta paintings, silks and cottons, with stripes and checks of many kinds, forms of birds and animals, also play an important part in this bewildering display of textile designs.

Textiles decorated with rows of "Hamsas" as well as peacocks and cranes, and of animals, are abundant in the numerous illustrations of the Jain manuscripts of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The Vaishnava poems of Bengal which deal with love of Radha and Krishna, describe Radha's sari "decorated with pictures which delight the eye."

This love for beautiful fabrics—flowered and figured—and the artistic taste of the men and women of our land can be traced back to antiquity.

In 300 B.C. Seleukos, one of the Generals of Alexander the Great, sent Megasthenes to India as his Ambassador. He stayed at Pataliputra—Chandra Gupta Maurya's Capital—for seven years and wrote a full account of the country and the people. Megasthenes said that he found the Indians clad in fine flowered muslins of beautiful weave, while the robes of the princes were embroidered in pure gold. It is only natural that the weavers of Bengal who had been famous for centuries for weaving muslins of superbly delicate texture, should also have well developed rich styles in ornamenting fabrics. The figured muslins of Bengal are known as 'Jamdanis'. Jamdanis are hand embroidered in the loom. To produce rich effects, both cotton and gold threads are used.

The weavers of Bengal with unlimited patience and amazing hereditary skill produced these fascinating figured muslins or Jamdanis, with their primitive looms.

"The long warp threads being arranged, the weaving is begun as in the case of an ordinary cloth, and a pattern of the embroidery drawn on paper is pinned beneath as the weaving goes on. The workman continually raises the paper pattern to ascertain if his woof has approached closely to where any flower or other figure has to be embroidered, and when the exact place is reached, he takes his needle—a bamboo splinter, and as each woof thread passes through the pattern, he sews down the intersected portion of it, and so continues until it is completed. When the embroidered pattern is continuous and regular, as in the usual Sari border, the weaver, if a skilful workman, usually dispenses with the aid of a paper pattern. Two persons generally work together at a piece of Jamdani by which a great saving of time is effected."

Jamdanis are the most artistic and expensive creations of Dacca looms. During the Moghul times, the manufacture of finer Jamdanis was a government monopoly—"the weaver being forbidden, under pecuniary and corporal penalties, to sell any person a piece exceeding a certain price." Jamdani saris are among the most cherished possessions

of the women of Bengal, and are worn at bridal and festive occasions. The best Jamdanis are those made in Dacca, now in East Pakistan, Nadia and Santipure in West Bengal.

Saris produced by the weavers of Santipure and Nadia, are admired not only for their fineness of texture but also for their borders ornamented with floral designs. The fine texture Nilambari saris—the colour resembling the dark blue of the night sky—usually with silver borders—are much in use even now. The Nilambaris of our own days have much resemblance with the 'Meghdambur' of old Bengal.

'Dhonekhali' saris and 'Farishdanga' dhuties in Hooghly district have won a reputation for uniformity of texture and durability. Serampore is another weaving centre in the same district. At Chotadhul and Dogachi in Pabna (now in East Pakistan) are members of the Hindu weavers who make fine coloured cotton saris. The striped cotton cloth manufactured in the handlooms of Tangail (now in East Pakistan) are unique for their beauty and texture.

Fine cloths are also made in Chandrakona and Kalna in Midnapore, and Baranagore, near Calcutta. Beyond their texture there is nothing special about them.

Mixed silk and cotton cloths are prepared in Birbhum and Bankura in Bengal.

In the hilly districts of Tippera, rias and scarfs are worn by the women. Patterns and designs of these rias are usually chequered and geometric but sometimes they are symbolic and always woven in white, blue, yellow, red, purple and green. The effect is extremely colourful.

The indigenous weaving industry of Bengal received a severe blow with the introduction of foreign machine made textiles. The position of the weavers became very unsatisfactory.

In spite of this rapid decline, the weavers of Bengal carried on weaving—cotton fabrics are still woven all over Bengal more or less in every district.

In striking contrast with the figured Dacca muslins, the 'Naksha' looms of Murshidabad produced figured silk saris—the Baluchar butedars.

A Baluchar sari is usually five yards in length and 42 inches wide, in flame red and purple, occasionally in deep blue. A beautiful floral design runs along the edges, the field is covered with small 'butes'. The main emphasis of the decoration is on the "anchala" which falls on the front when the sari is worn in a traditional fashion. Silk threads of red, green and blue are used for the embroidered designs with plenty of cream threads, which look like gold; but actual gold or silver threads are never used in a Baluchar sari. There is close harmony in colour and design in these old textiles, with no discordant colour schemes with gaudy or ugly colours.

It is in the richly decorated 'anchalas' the Baluchar weavers lavished most of their skill. In the old styled saris the 'anchala' is decorated with the artistic arrangement of the traditional 'Kalka'.

When Murshidabad became the Viceregal seat, the Nawabs showed regard and tolerance for the Hindus and their culture. Under their patronage, the skilled weavers introduced the figures of Muslim men and women—only on the 'anchala' in single or double rows, while the field of the sari continued to be decorated in the old floral ornamentation style. Outcome of the same patronage factor, the East India Company's factory at Murshidabad produced Baluchar saris with figures of men and women with European dresses, hats and bonnets. It has been said that "Art in India has never recognised the political boundaries or the separatist tendencies of religious orthodoxy." "In early times the Buddhist and Hindu designs influenced each other. Again, Hindu and Muslim styles and patterns have mutually reacted, and as the Moghuls borrowed from the Hindus, so have the Hindus unhesitatingly adopted Muslim designs."



BRIDAL COSTUME

(Photo : Sebastian Fernandes of *Eve's Weekly*)



A lovely cotton Santipure sari in light beige framed in ornamental borders with traditional fish motif woven in black and Indian red. The gold thread has been very effectively used in the design of the borders as well as in the *anchala*.

(Sari by Courtesy of Handloom House)



This sari of square checks or "Chorse Duray" is white with light lilac checks, merging into the deeper lilac of the plain borders. "Durays" of vivid bright colour combinations are favourites of the younger people.

(Sari by Courtesy of Handloom House)

(Photos : Confetas)



This perfectly delightful cotton sari of very fine texture is indigo blue in colour, with fish scale motif borders, very effectively woven in silver *jhari* threads. This is the "Megh-daminir" sari of old, and Nilambari sari of present day.

(Sari by Courtesy of Handloom House)



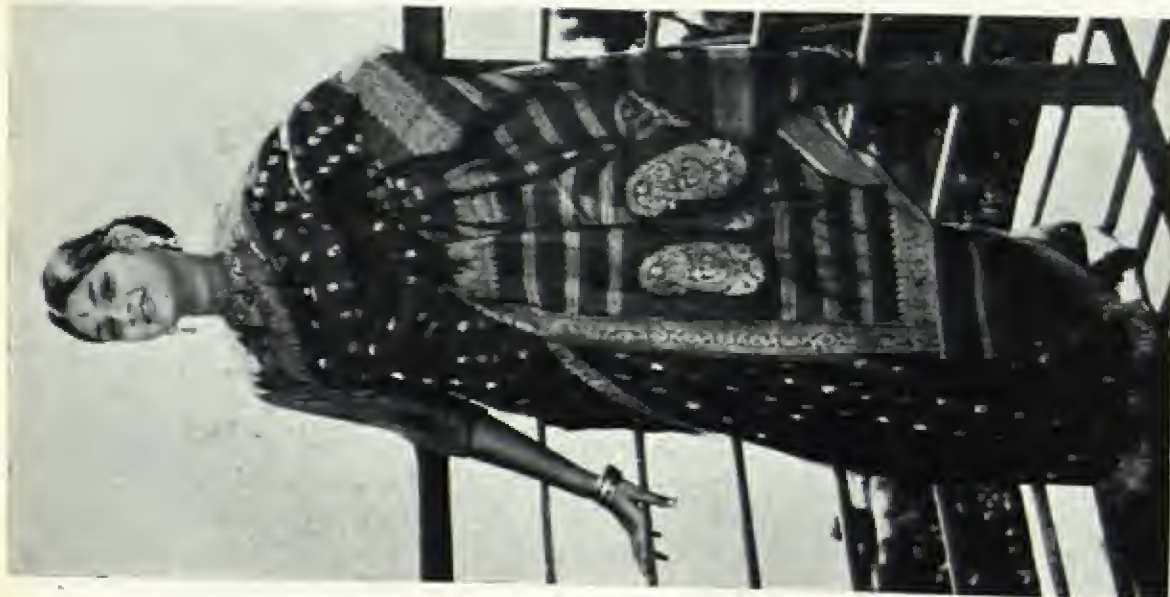
A white cotton day-wear sari of Dacca type. The field is enlivened with small *batis* woven in red, black, green and yellow. The borders and *anchala* are woven in modern geometric design, where the same colours are repeated.



Dhondhali sari. This plain white cotton sari for daily use, with wide borders, is draped in a traditional Bengal fashion. The design in the borders is woven in deep green and black with alternating stripes of red.



"Durays" (Stripes) of Santipore. Wide stripes of red, black, green and yellow on white or coloured ground, running horizontally, with coloured borders are common types of "duray" saris from Santipore. This is a white cotton sari with black borders in geometric designs where the stripes are vertical.



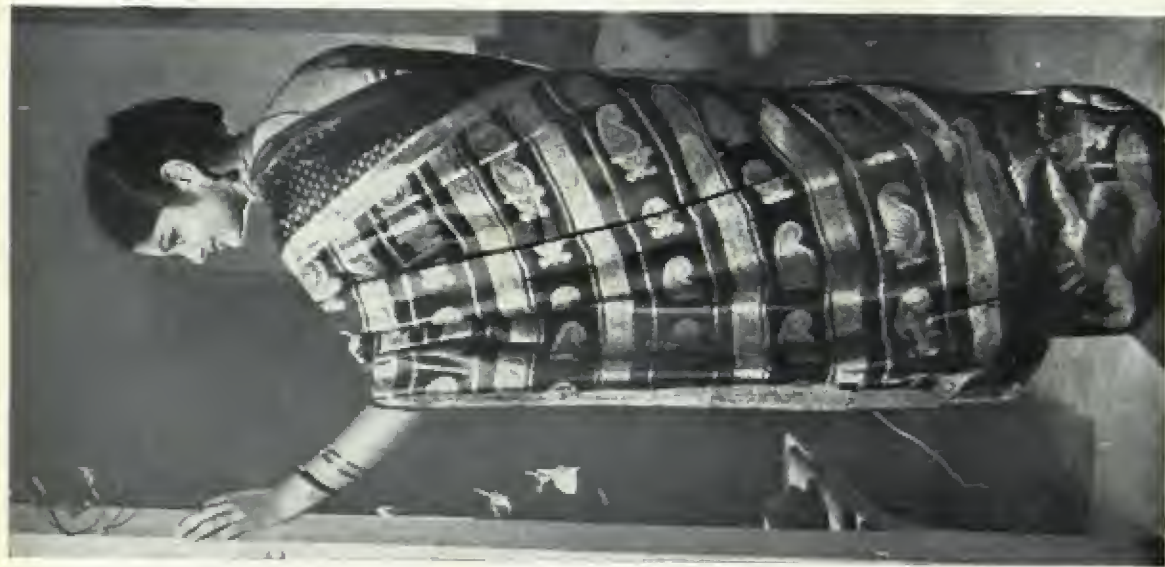
A beautiful floral border runs along this Baluchari silk sari, shot with tones of madder red and blue. A row of traditional *kathas* is enclosed within the oblong panel of the *anchala*. The field is covered with small *bottis*. The embroidery is done in cream silk threads; gold and silver threads are absent.

(Photo: Sebastian Fernandes of *Eye's Weekly*)



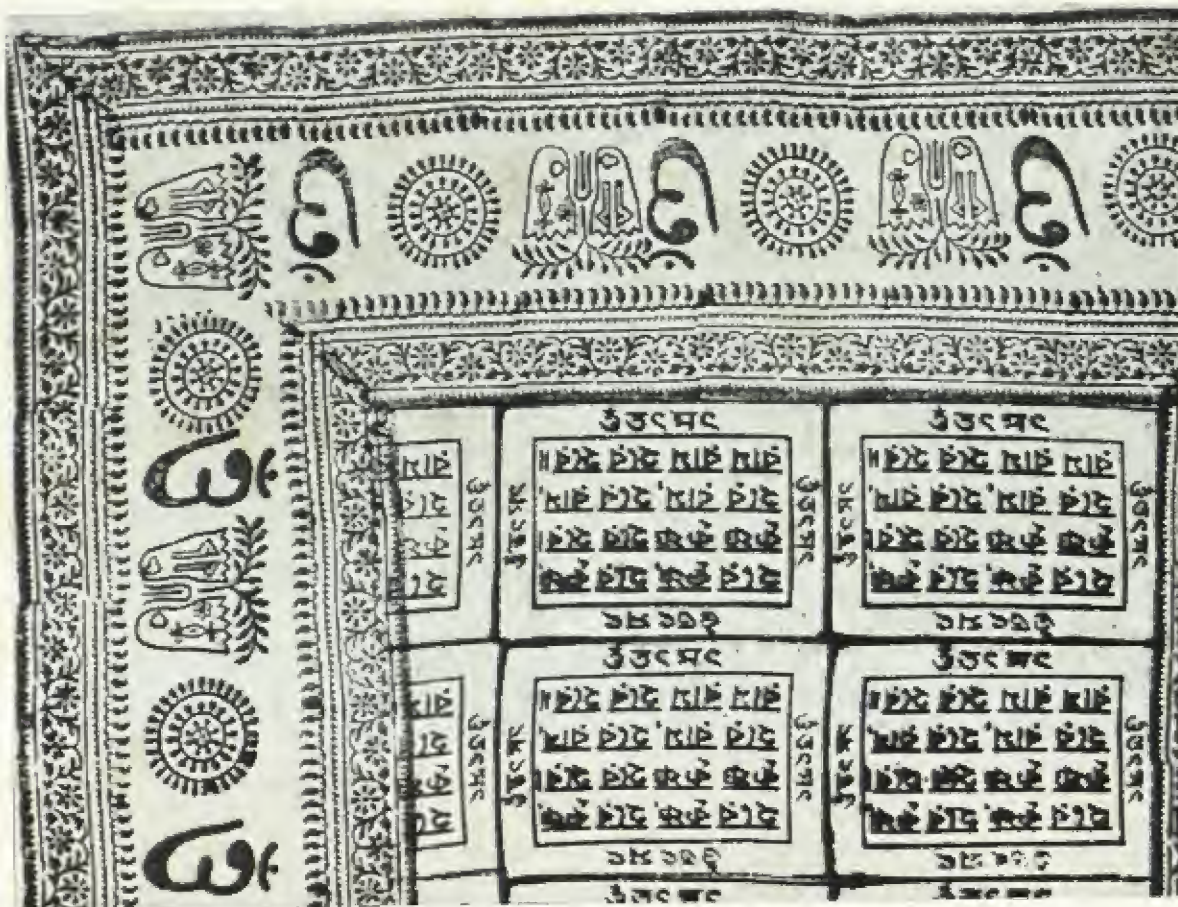
A fine textured subtle toned terracotta red cotton sari, worked all over the field with a novel ornamental creeper-like design in white, giving the sari a distinctive touch. This exquisite jamdani is worn during special festive occasions.

(Photo by Courtesy of
Illustrated Weekly of India)



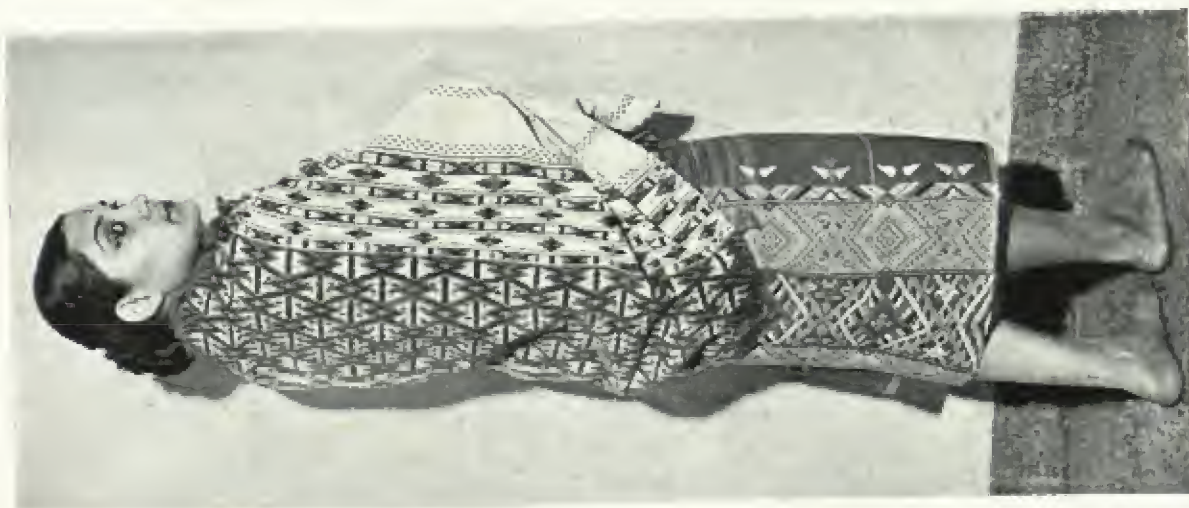
A striking silk sari in deep emerald green which accentuates the design, printed in white—giving it an *alfosa* like effect. The field is covered with small *bottis*. In the *anchala*, *kathas* are arranged in between the wide parallel stripes of floral design. The exquisite *anchala* adds an extravagant glamour to this handblock printed sari on Murshidabad silk.

(Sari by Courtesy of *Handloom House*)
(Photo: Comfotos)



This ceremonial shawl or *mamabali*—with stylized foot imprints and words in praise of god, decorated with flowers and foliage design is printed in Indian red, on a golden yellow ground.

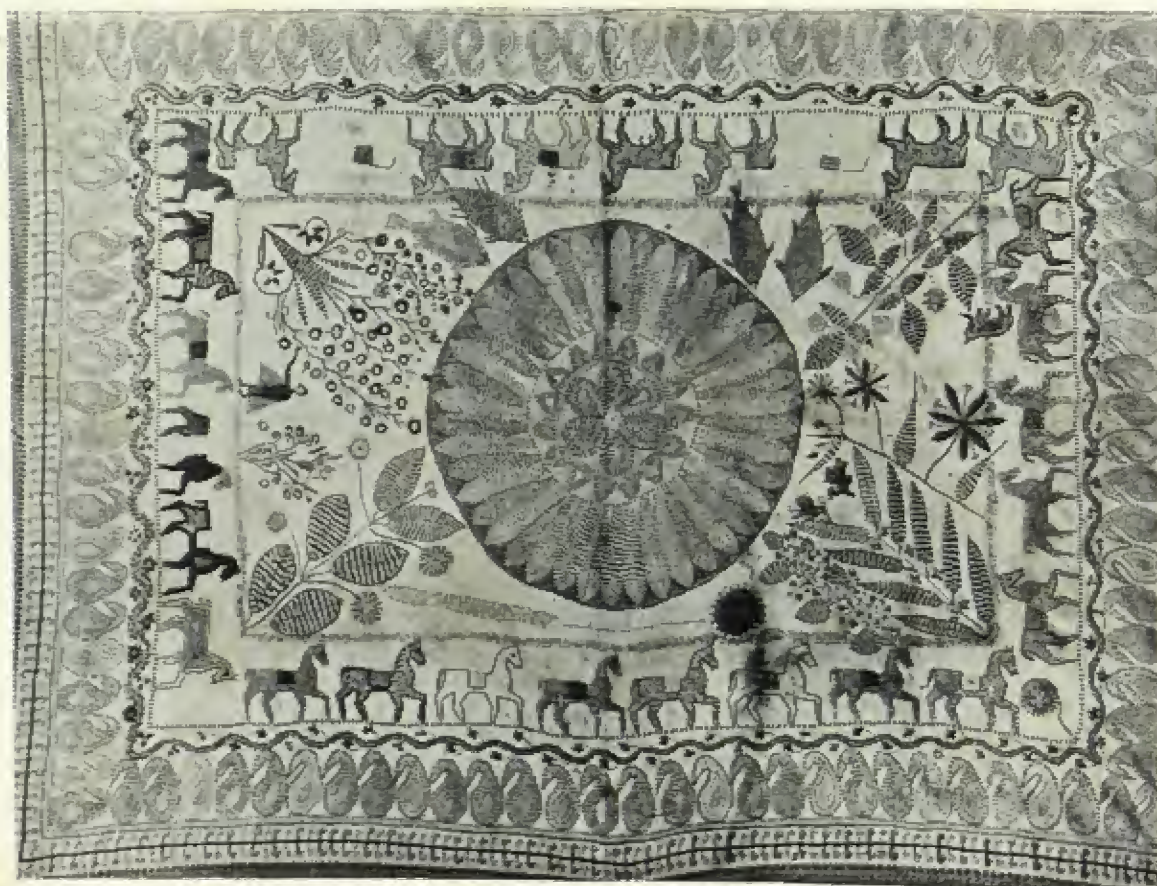
(Photos : Comifotos)



Colourful "rias" from Tippiara, woven in various kinds of geometric designs as well as embroidered rias from Bahadurpara are sent to Assam, to be worn by the Assamese women, as their upper garment.



A rich flame coloured Dacca sari with flowered *butis* all over the field. The borders are exquisitely woven, showing small jasmine flowers arranged in a geometric pattern. The woven embroidery is entirely in silver *jhari* threads. (Sari by Courtesy of Handloom House)



This *kantha* is framed in four sides by elaborated borders—showing the line of *kalkas* separated from the row of horses, by a creeper design. The different decorative treatment of flowers and foliage are noticeable on the four corners and in the central flower. The *kantha* is embroidered in red black, green and yellow coloured threads.

(By Courtesy of Mase)

Baluchar is a town in Murshidabad district. The Baluchar butedar sari took its name from this town. Round about Baluchar a number of villages carried on a thriving silk weaving, the most well known being Bahadurpure, where lived and died Dubraj, the Master Weaver.

Dubraj owned all the six looms of the village and produced the best Baluchar saris, rias and mekhlās, with gold embroidery, shawls and scarfs, chelis and churis.

Weavers from surrounding villages used to come to Dubraj to get their looms adjusted. "He was the only man who could set the loom to any pattern he sees, which was beyond the power of ordinary weavers." With the death of Dubraj, production of these artistic fabrics has become almost a thing of the past. The Benares weavers have successfully copied Baluchar saris recently, but at an excessive cost.

Although the creative skill of the Bengal weavers found a rich expression in cotton, silk weaving was also known to them. Even in olden days many exquisite and costly silk saris were woven for the ladies of rank.

Uncoloured silk saris were called 'Kanca-pat' saris. A 'Kala-pat' or black silk sari was a favourite of ladies of fashion and beauty. The sari which was very extensively used in Bengal as well as exported from the country, was described as the "Agun-pat" sari—sari having the colour of flame. The flame coloured sari has been described by the poets of Bengal of all ages. Silk saris were all known as Pat-saris, while a particularly decorated Pat or silk sari was called "Pater-Bhuni". It was worn by ladies of high rank. "Sita was given to wear a decorated silk sari named Bhuni."

The merchant Chand said "the weavers in my country produced 'Kunna' cloths which require many days of slow and patient labour. These cloths are extremely difficult to be torn off." These Kunna cloths may be the Matka and Tasar and other varieties of silk cloths of our time extensively used to serve various purposes.

What is now commonly known as "Berhampure Silks" are all manufactured in the different silk weaving centres of Murshidabad district, although silk weaving is also carried on in Burdwan division.

During a Hindu wedding the bridegroom wears 'jors'—a pair of silk dhoti and chadder—of pink or cream colour, with narrow gold borders. The bride's forehead is decorated with designs of sandal-paste, and her tender eyes blackened with collyrium; she adorns herself with ornaments and garlands and puts on a red silk Cheli. The priest spreads over his shoulders a 'Namabali' during the marriage ceremony. All these ceremonial silks are made in Mirzapure, Khagra and the other neighbouring villages.

In a Namabali, the stylised foot-imprints, with the words in praise of God, are arranged with floral designs. The printing is in Indian red on a saffron coloured ground. A Namabali is the most traditional of block printed textiles of Bengal. Murshidabad is also famous for block printed handkerchiefs and saris.

The very fine textured silks of Khagra and Mirzapur are described as 'Hawai pieces'. Dhotis and Saris—specially Hawai Dures or striped silk muslins are favourite summer wears of the rich.

Of the designs on the beautiful textiles—which the Imperial factories turned out, Abul Fazl said, "The figures and patterns, knots and variety of fashions now prevail, astonish experienced travellers."

Under the royal patronage government controlled factories in Dacca contributed to the splendour and lavish magnificence of the Emperor's Court.

Side by side with the art which grew and flourished under royal patronage, there existed an art which had its origin in religion and social traditions entirely free from Courtly patronage.

In the villages, with a solution of ground-rice women draw elaborate Alipona designs on the floor. Then they place a measure bowl filled with paddy—a symbolic representation of the goddess Lakshmi—in the centre of the Alipona. Just as the urge to add art to their rituals gave rise to this art of Alipona, so from the desire to add a touch of colour to their humble homes, originated the art of 'Kantha' making in Bengal.

In the villages of Bengal, during the midday rest, deft and patient hands are kept busy on stitching pattern after pattern creating wonderland of colour forms and designs. The material is discarded dhotis and saris and the coloured borders supplied the threads. This custom of making Kantha was practised in hundreds of homes in the villages of old Bengal. Now it is almost a dying art.

The layers of old saris are stitched together. Then begins the embroidery, till the ground is covered with designs in black, yellow, blue and red threads. The design of the border is either geometric in pattern or various arrangement of lotus and creepers. The ground design includes forms of horses and elephants, palanquins and chariots, birds and fishes, and human figures. To give durability small stitches in white are done across the ground, as a finishing touch.

The effect of this picturesque quality of 'Kantha' is extremely decorative. "The anatomical defects of forms are easily forgotten in its picturesque beauty and colour harmony."

This art which took its birth in the hundreds of village homes, nourished by loving hands of the women folk, nurtured by their great feeling of form and colour, are kept by them within the confines of their homes. The beautiful objects which they turned out—which we today have come to praise as objects d' arts—was never meant for the market, but created simply to beautify articles of daily use, or lovingly presented to the aged grandmother or a new-born child.

Thus, in the social fabric of ancient Bengal, the weavers art runs like a golden thread nourished by royal patronage. It languished when patronage was withdrawn at the turn of the 19th century, followed by repressive measures.

Side by side runs another thread less ostentatious and unnoticed and never commercialised—the Kantha makers art of Bengal.

In the simple village life of this country, women preserved and kept alive our traditional art and culture for generations.

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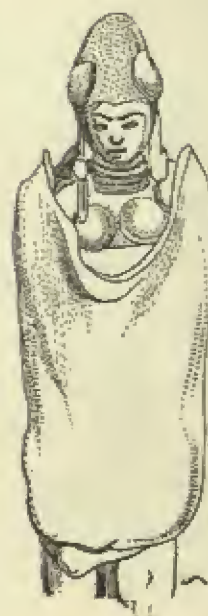
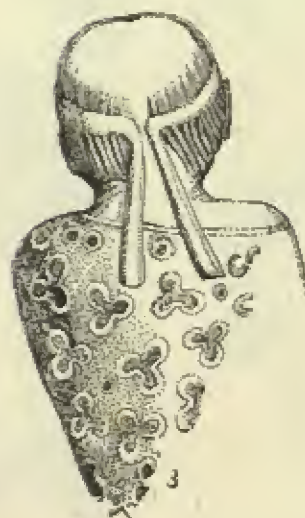
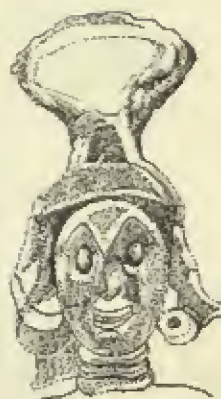
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THE COSTUME TYPES IN INDUS VALLEY CULTURE

The Indus Valley Culture, datable to c. 2500 B.C., flourished in Sindh and the Punjab, though its extension in Northern Gujarat and Saurashtra has now been established. The urban culture of the Sindh Valley shows a highly developed society with well-planned cities with agriculture as main occupation, its surplus providing for higher standards of life. Trade and commerce flourished and the cotton products of Sindh found ready markets in the Middle East. The costume types in the Indus Valley culture are simple. Nudity was not frowned upon, but men usually wore a short loin-cloth and the *chadar* at times worn across the chest (Figs. 7, 8) and the hair is tied with a ribbon. It is not known whether sewn garments were worn, though a sewn shirt-like garment once appears (Fig. 9). Perhaps different types of caps were worn by men and women (Fig. 1, 3, 4). Mark the fan-like headdress (Fig. 5).



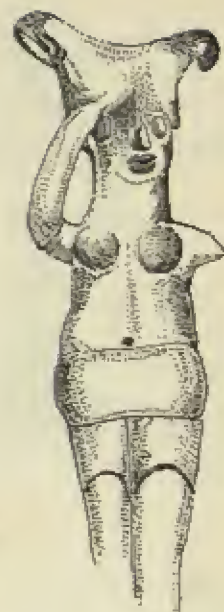
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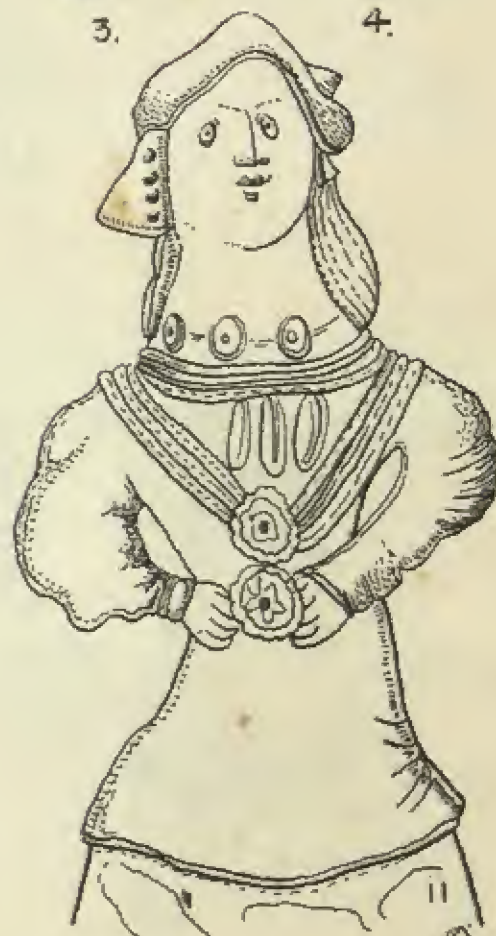
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11.

MALE AND FEMALE COSTUMES IN INDUS VALLEY CULTURE

The women usually wear a short loin-cloth tied with a zone (Fig. 1, 3, 4) made of ordinary cloth or beaded strands. At one place a male is shown wearing a cloak-like garment (Fig. 11). Both men and women wear a fan-like headdress made of stiffened cloth mounted on frame (Figs. 5, 6, 9). It was at times ornamented and worn at a rakish angle (Fig. 8) and secured to the head with a ribbon. Note the spiral form (Fig. 10) and the bossed headdress (Fig. 7).



MALE AND FEMALE COSTUMES FROM BHARHUT

The history of Indian costumes from roughly 1300 B.C. to second century is, in the absence of painting and sculpture very meagre, the lacuna being filled by Sanskrit and Pali literature. The picture, however, gets clearer in the second century B.C. as bas-reliefs and terracottas of the period are plentiful. In this Plate are represented various costume types of the Sunga period. Mark the elaborate accompaniments of the male *dhobi* such as waistbands and *patakas* (Figs. 2, 4, 5, 6). The turbans are quite elaborate and the *dupatta* is worn either following from their shoulders or worn across the chest. The women are often very elaborately dressed. Mark the elaborate folds of the *sari* and profusely ornamented headdress (Fig. 1). The short *dhobi* and *hamarband* form the articles of the costume of a musician (Fig. 3).



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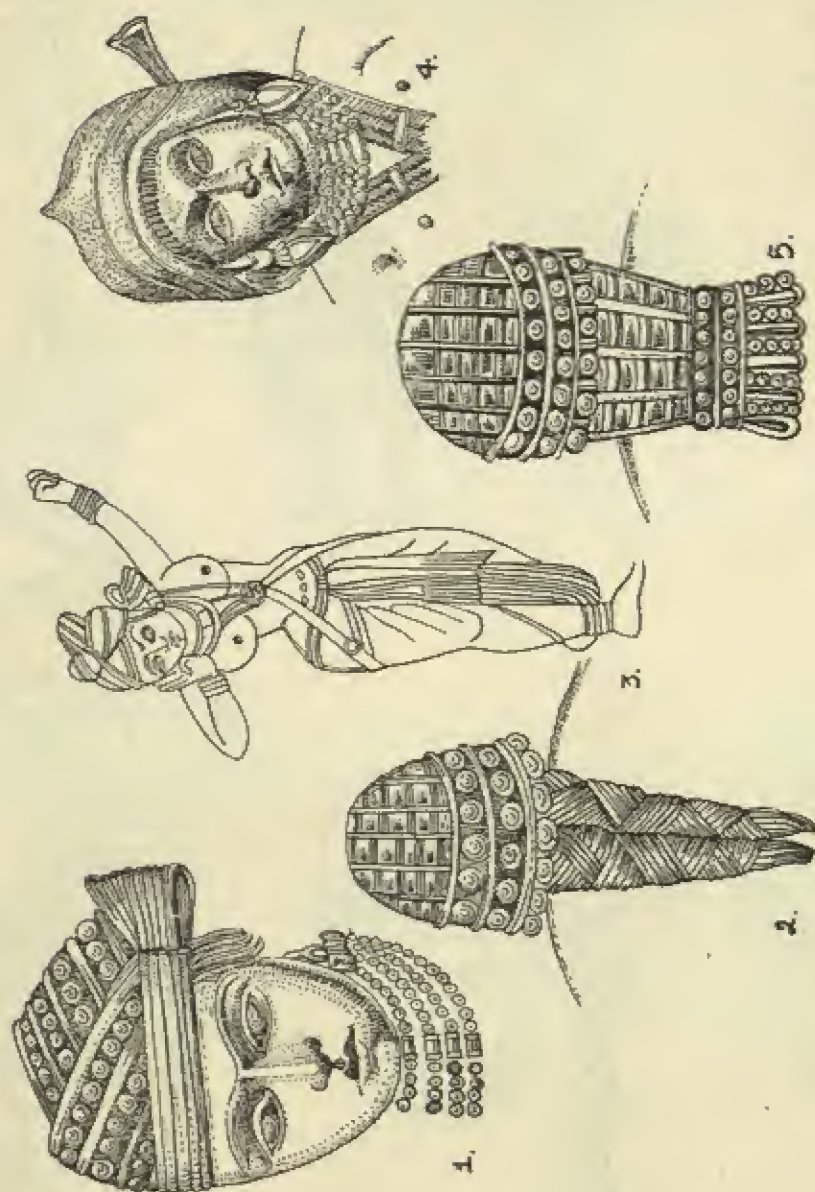
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7.

COSTUME TYPES FROM BHARHUT SCULPTURES

The bas-reliefs from Bharhut stupa now mostly in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and the Allahabad Museum, represent mostly scenes pertaining to the previous lives of the Buddha and are datable to the second century B.C. Incidentally, the Bharhut bas-reliefs are a treasure house for the social and cultural life of the Indian people in the second century B.C. The men of position are shown wearing dhotis accompanied by belts and patakas, dupattas worn in different ways and turbans with round protuberances (Figs. 1, 4, 7). A hunter is shown wearing a kilt, a cap and shoes (Fig. 2); a north-westerner wears a coat, a dhoti, and a ribbon round his head (Fig. 6) and a sadhu a simple loin-cloth and a dupatta thrown across the chest. A woman (Fig. 3) wears an elaborate sari accompanied by a rich zone and a pataka, and her veil is richly ornamented.



FEMALE HEADDRESSES FROM BHARHUT

The headdresses are elaborately ornamented (Figs. 1, 2, 5). To keep them in place, bands are tied round the forehead or neta put on them. At times women also wear turbans (Fig. 3). The headdress or wimple is at times peaked (Fig. 4.)



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MALE HEADGEARS FROM BHARHUT

The male headgear in Bharhut is ordinarily a turban, worn in different ways. A light turban made of rich material (Fig. 1); a fan-like arrangement with cylindrical protrusion (Fig. 2); an ornamented turban with raised end (Fig. 3); a turban with light folds (Fig. 4); a heavy turban with schematic folds coming over the ears (Fig. 5); heavily ornamented turbans (Figs. 6-7); a light turban with fan-like projections (Fig. 8); a turban with a conch-like projection decorated with a twig (Fig. 9); and a turban round a frame (Fig. 10). Mark the leaf and rosette decoration of a turban (Fig. 11).



MALE COSTUMES AND HEADDRESSES FROM BHAJA

While Bharhut bas-reliefs give an adequate idea of costumes in Northern India, bas-reliefs from Bhaja Cave, not far from Lonavala near Bombay, give us glimpses of costumes across the Vindhya Hills. The male costume is rather heavy consisting of a short *dhoti* and *chadar* worn across the chest (Fig. 4). The warriors of position effect rather elaborate dress (Fig. 5). The headdress of the elephant-driver resembles a similar headdress in Bharhut bas-reliefs (Fig. 6). The turbans are simple, leaving the hairstyles exposed (Figs. 2, 3).



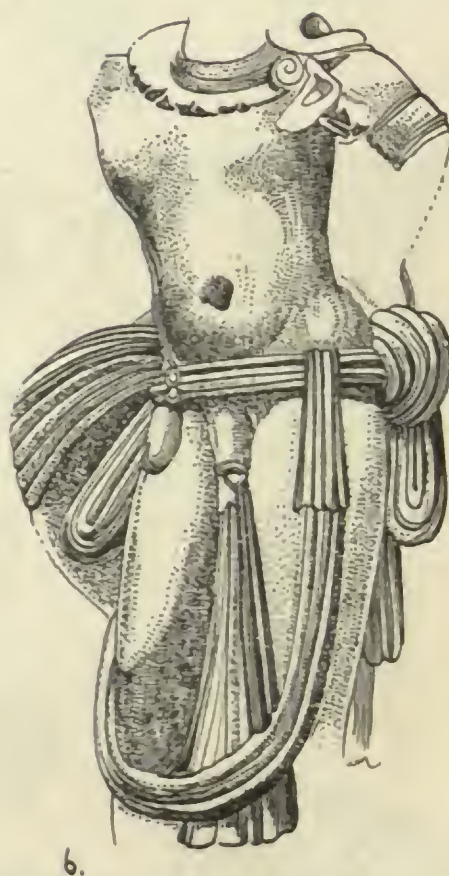
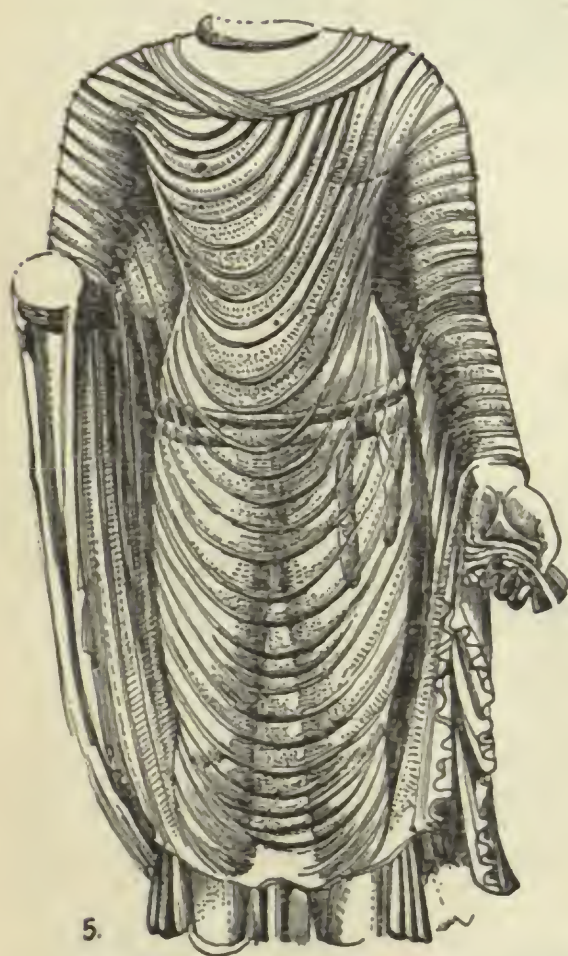
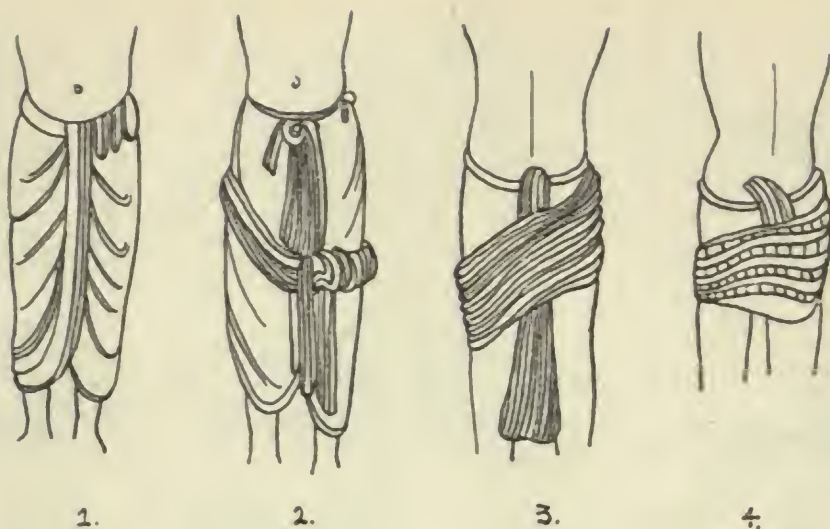
MALE AND FEMALE COSTUMES FROM SANCHI SCULPTURES

In keeping with the tradition of Bharhut the bas-reliefs on the gateways of Sanchi datable to 1st century B.C. also portray the life stories of Buddha and following the realistic trend of early Indian art give interesting glimpses of the life and manners of the Indian people. As regards the costumes of the people, a tendency towards simplification is noticeable. The *dhoti* and *sari* are worn in the same manner as at Bharhut, though in the *dhoti* the end is prolonged (Fig. 2). It is also much longer (Fig. 4). The male costume ordinarily consists of turbans of Bharhut type but much simpler, *dhotis* with triangular projections, looped waistbands and *dupattas* worn over the shoulders (Figs. 3, 5, 6, 7, 8). The soldiers often wear full-sleeved jackets, kilts and shoes (Fig. 1).



MALE AND FEMALE HEADGEARS FROM SANCHI

Though the headgears at Sanchi are not so elaborate as at Bharhut, they are more elegant and show the artistic proclivities of the people. In the first type (Figs. 1, 4, 5) the upper folds of the turban imitate the form of a conch-shell. In the second type (Figs. 8, 9, 19, 25) the turban-folds are lightly but irregularly wound. In the third type though the turban-folds are regular, the projections serve an ornamental purpose (Figs. 6, 7, 20). In the fourth type the top is cylindrical (Figs. 8, 23, 24, 37), and in the fifth type the front is heart-shaped (Figs. 21, 22). In the sixth type the turban is very light with a round or lamp-like projections (Figs. 11, 26). The skull (Figs. 15, 16) and conical caps (Fig. 20) are worn. Caps are also decorated with a Low (Fig. 22), a boss (Fig. 23) and fleur de lis pattern (Fig. 24).

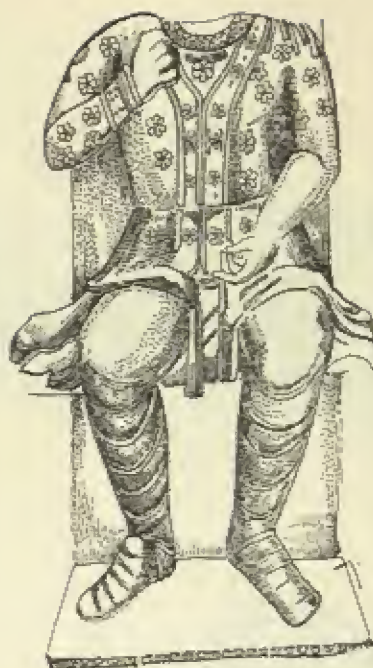


MALE COSTUMES OF THE KUSHANA PERIOD FROM MATHURA, 1st CENTURY TO 3rd CENTURY A.D.

With the advent of the Kushana power in Northern India in the first century A.D., Mathura became a great commercial city. With its growing commercial prosperity and consequent accumulation of wealth, the city became a great centre of art and culture. Wealth engendered luxury and nowhere this luxury is depicted more forcefully than in finest muslin which made the women look almost nude. The short *dhotis* of men give place to long *dhotis*, which with their loose artistically arranged waist bands look very artistic. With the introduction of Central Asiatic elements sewn garments became popular, though Indians refused to accept them as common articles of wear. Thin *dhoti* is tied round the waist, and one end tucked behind. The *hamarband* loosely hangs on the thigh (Figs. 1-4). At times the *dhoti* is pleated in front and secured with a belt to which loose and looped *hamarband* is attached (Fig. 6). Notice the thin drapery of the Buddha (Fig. 5).



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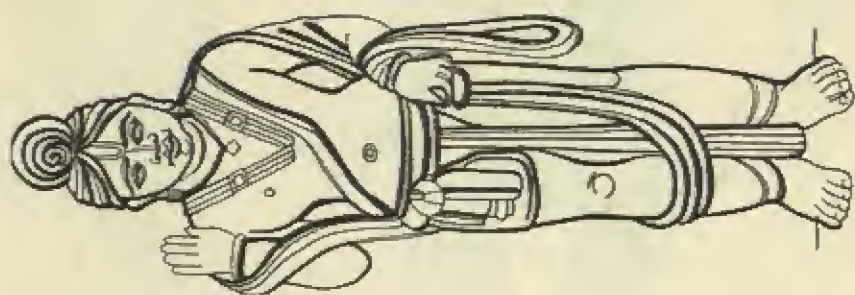
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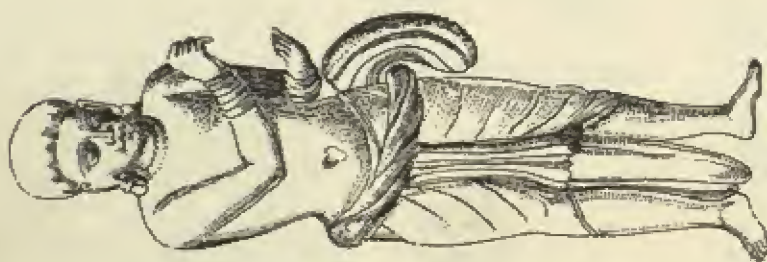
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MALE COSTUMES IN MATHURA SCULPTURES OF THE KUSHANA PERIOD

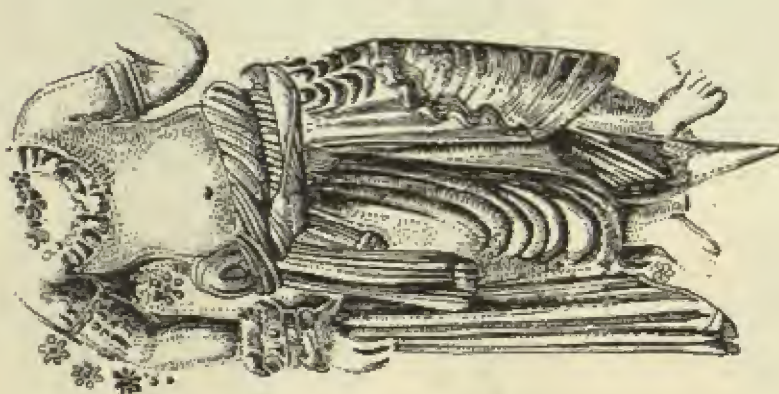
The typical male costumes of the Kushana period is a lightly wound turban with a plaque, *dhoti* secured with a belt and *kamarband* (Fig. 4). The *dupatta* is common (Figs. 1, 3). The high rectangular cap (Fig. 1) and turban with irregular folds are worn (Fig. 5). The Buddhist monks wear the upper garment, the lower garment and the *sanghati* (Fig. 6). The Kushana King, however, wears a coat, trousers and full boots (Fig. 2).



3



2



1

MALE COSTUMES FROM THE KUSHANA SCULPTURES

The pleated *dhoti*, the looped *kamavāṇā* and rich ornaments indicate the costume of a Mathura citizen in the Kushana period (Fig. 1). Mark the elaborate apparel of Bodhisattva (Fig. 3). The triangular projection probably indicates *paṭka* (Fig. 2).



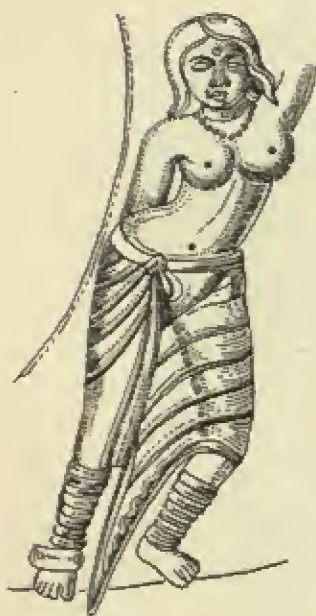
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FEMALE COSTUMES IN THE MATHURA SCULPTURES OF THE KUSHANA PERIOD

The women in the Kushana sculptures wear their garments coquettishly. The sari in most cases made of transparent muslin is secured to the waist with the zone; the *dupatta* is thrown round the neck (Fig. 5) or over the shoulders (Figs. 2, 3). At times the looped belt holds the sari to the waist (Fig. 4). The twisted *kamarband* is put over the waist delicately (Figs. 1, 6).



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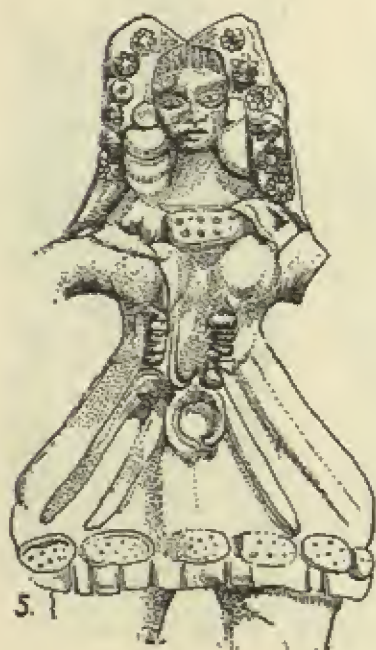
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SEWN FEMALE GARMENTS IN THE KUSHANA SCULPTURES

The *sari* and perhaps *choli* are worn (Fig. 1). Mark the modern mode of wearing the *sari*, quite new in Indian art. The foreign woman wears a richly ornamented *pairhan* and a tasseled skull cap (Fig. 2). Women are also shown wearing a combination of tight fitting tunics and *chadar* (Figs. 4, 5). A milkmaid is shown wearing an embroidered skirt (Fig. 3).



EARLY INDIAN COSTUMES AS DEPICTED IN TERRACOTTA FIGURINES

Terracotta figurines which were produced in great numbers from the Maurya to the Kushana period often give interesting details of contemporary costumes which do not appear in sculptures. Apparently these costumes were favourite with the common folk. The Maurya women seem to have laid great stress on their garments. Mark the elaborate dress and ornaments of a Maurya lady (Fig. 1). Another woman who appears to be a dancer wears a bicornate headdress and a skirt (Fig. 3). The tunic and headdress of a Sunga lady is also remarkable (Fig. 5). The fully draped figure of a woman of the Kushana period draws our attention (Fig. 4). The elaborate headgear and the veil of another Kushana lady are remarkable (Fig. 2).



COSTUMES AND MALE HEADDRESSES IN GANDHARA SCULPTURES

While Indian sculpture in the early centuries of the Christian era was developing a distinctive style of its own, the sculptural art in north-western India now in Pakistan was developing on a distinctive line influenced by the contemporary colonial art of the Roman Empire. In this art the human figure follows closely the Greco-Roman conventions and in the realistic treatment of the draperies the Gandhara school has its own importance. The costumes show two distinctive types, one indigenous and the other foreign, though both types are often intermixed. The indigenous type consists of a pleated *dhoti* secured to the waist with a belt and a *chador* passed over the left shoulder (Figs. 5, 6), having the chest exposed or fully covered (Fig. 7). The light turban is profusely ornamented and decorated with a plaque (Fig. 2) or is wound round the *kudak* topped with a bow (Fig. 4). The skull cap is profusely decorated with a dragon figure and decoration bosses. The peaked and tasseled cap decorated with a crescent is typically Saka (Fig. 3).



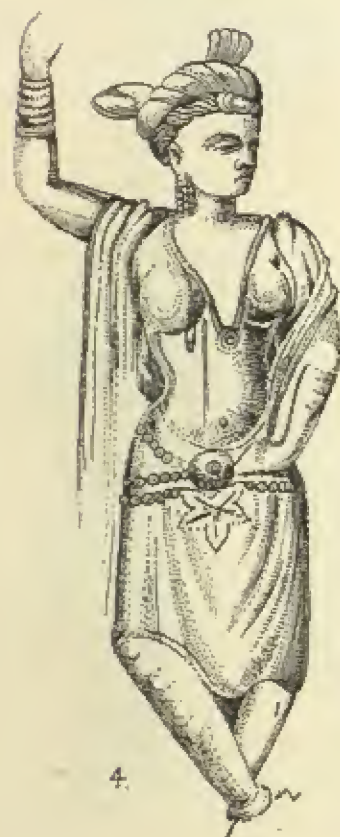
MALE COSTUMES REPRESENTED IN GANDHARA SCULPTURES

The fashion of the period demanded that the belt should be provided with a buckle, and to keep the alignment of the *dupatta* in position weights should be attached to its ends (Fig. 3). In certain cases the elegance of neatly worn *dhoti* and *dupatta* is enhanced by an elegant turban surmounted with golden plaque and pearl strings (Fig. 5). The *hamarband* is often tied round the waist, its ends hanging loose (Fig. 1). The donors who were mostly merchants wear tunics with tight sleeves and *chadars* (Fig. 6). At times an overcoat lined with fur is worn over the tunic (Fig. 2). The soldiers wear light turbans, *dhotis* and armour (Fig. 4).



FEMALE COSTUMES REPRESENTED IN GANDHARA SCULPTURES

In Gandhara sculptures three articles of female costumes are clear, namely a sleeved tunic, the *sari* covering the whole body and the *chadar* or *dupatta* covering the shoulders (Figs. 2, 6). Usually one end of the *sari* is tied round the waist, and the other pleated and tucked behind (Fig. 1). The tunic is usually long and tight-fitting; its silhouettes are well pronounced (Fig. 2). The free end of the *sari* is passed across the chest leaving one of the breasts exposed (Fig. 3). Sometimes a coat covering the navel is worn (Fig. 4).



FEMALE COSTUMES IN GANDHARA SCULPTURES

At times the free end of the *sari* is taken on the right shoulder, leaving the breasts exposed (Fig. 1). Mark the open coat buttoned in the middle (Fig. 2). The tunic is worn over the *sari* (Fig. 3). It is also combined with a *dupatta* (Fig. 4). At one place the end of this *dupatta* is tucked to the waist (Fig. 5). The women of Grecian origin wear tunics and skirts (Fig. 6).



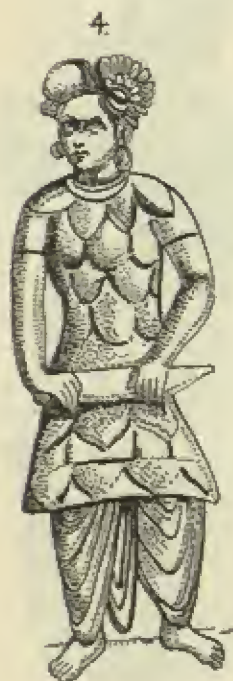
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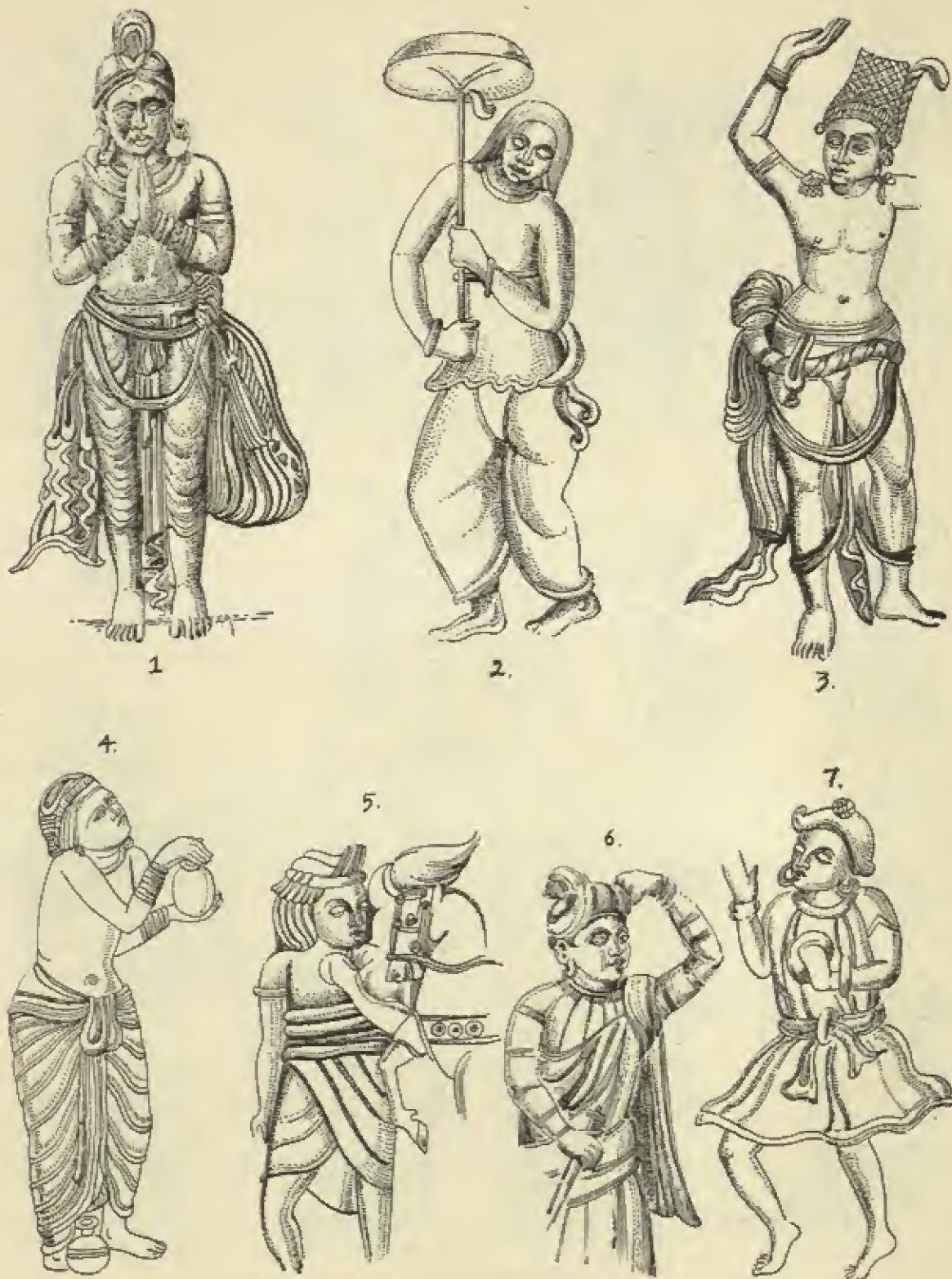
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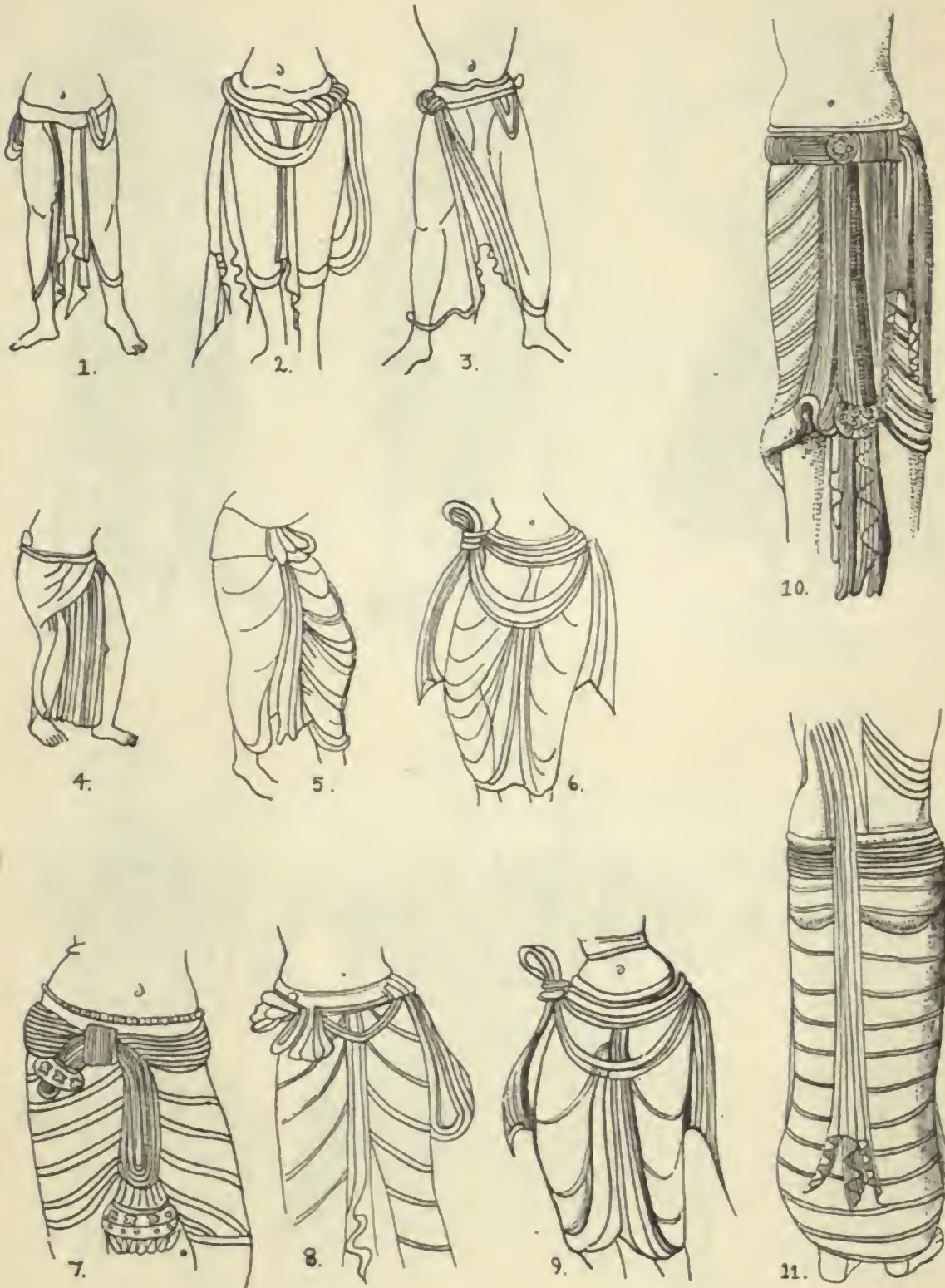
MALE AND FEMALE COSTUMES IN GANDHARA SCULPTURES

An archer is shown wearing a *dhoti* and *dupatta* (Fig. 3). In the costume of a soldier the scale pattern of the mail-coat is well pronounced (Fig. 4). Notice the peaked cap and kilt of a Saka warrior (Fig. 5). The female guard wears a tunic over the *sari* (Fig. 1). At another place the flying wimple and the looped *kamarband* are well pronounced (Fig. 2). Once the end of the *sari* seems to have been passed over the head (Fig. 6).



MALE COSTUMES REPRESENTED IN THE SCULPTURES OF AMARAVATI

As the Kushanas were well established in north in the early centuries of the Christian era so were the Satavahanas in the Deccan and Andhrapradesha. The trade with the Roman empire in spices, muslin, precious stones and aromatic woods created surplus capital resulting in a growth of luxury hitherto unknown in South India. The Satavahanas and specially the merchant community patronised art, and the stupas of the period at Amaravati and Nagarjunikonda built by them and the Ikshvakus respectively stand testimony to their refined taste and appreciation of vivid realism. The bas-reliefs of Amaravati, chiefly in the British Museum and the Madras Museum, throw valuable light on the manners and customs of the people. The costumes of the people in keeping with the climatic conditions of the south are light and comfortable, though in keeping with the tendency of the age the simple articles of costume are worn with grace. The simple *dhoti* with an elaborately looped tied *kamarband* (Figs. 1, 3, 4) is common. Short tunic with or without *chadar* and the cap is worn by attendants (Figs. 2, 5, 6, 7).



TYPES OF DHOTI IN THE SCULPTURES OF AMARAVATI

The *dhotti* reaching the knees is tied to the waist with a *kamarband*, generally its one end looped and the other hanging free (Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9). The *kamarband* is often provided with a buckle (Fig. 10), and its ends are tasselled (Fig. 7). The *dhotti* at times reached the ankles and the free end of the *dupatta* is shown hanging on the back (Fig. 11).



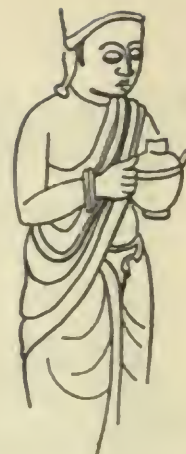
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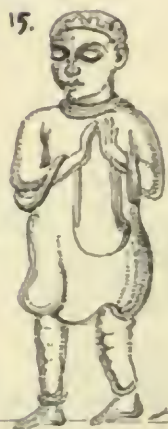
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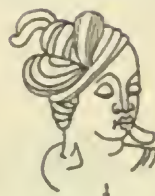
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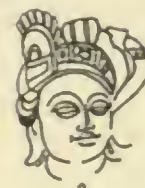
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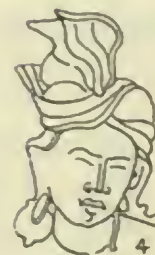
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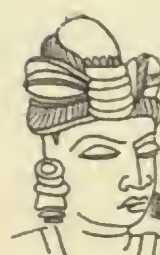
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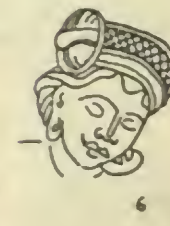
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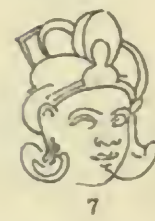
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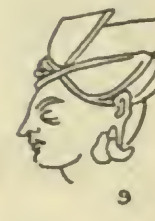
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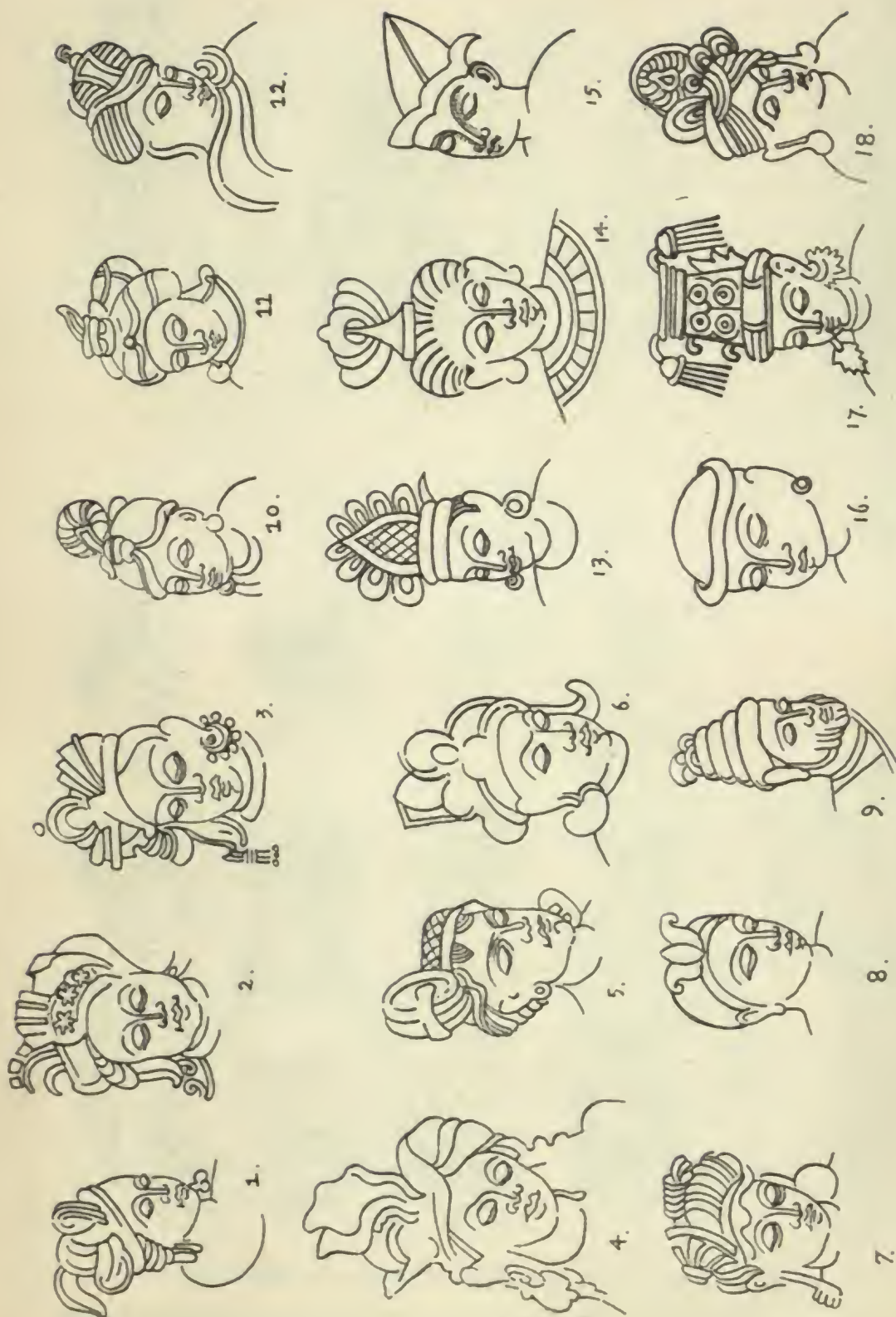
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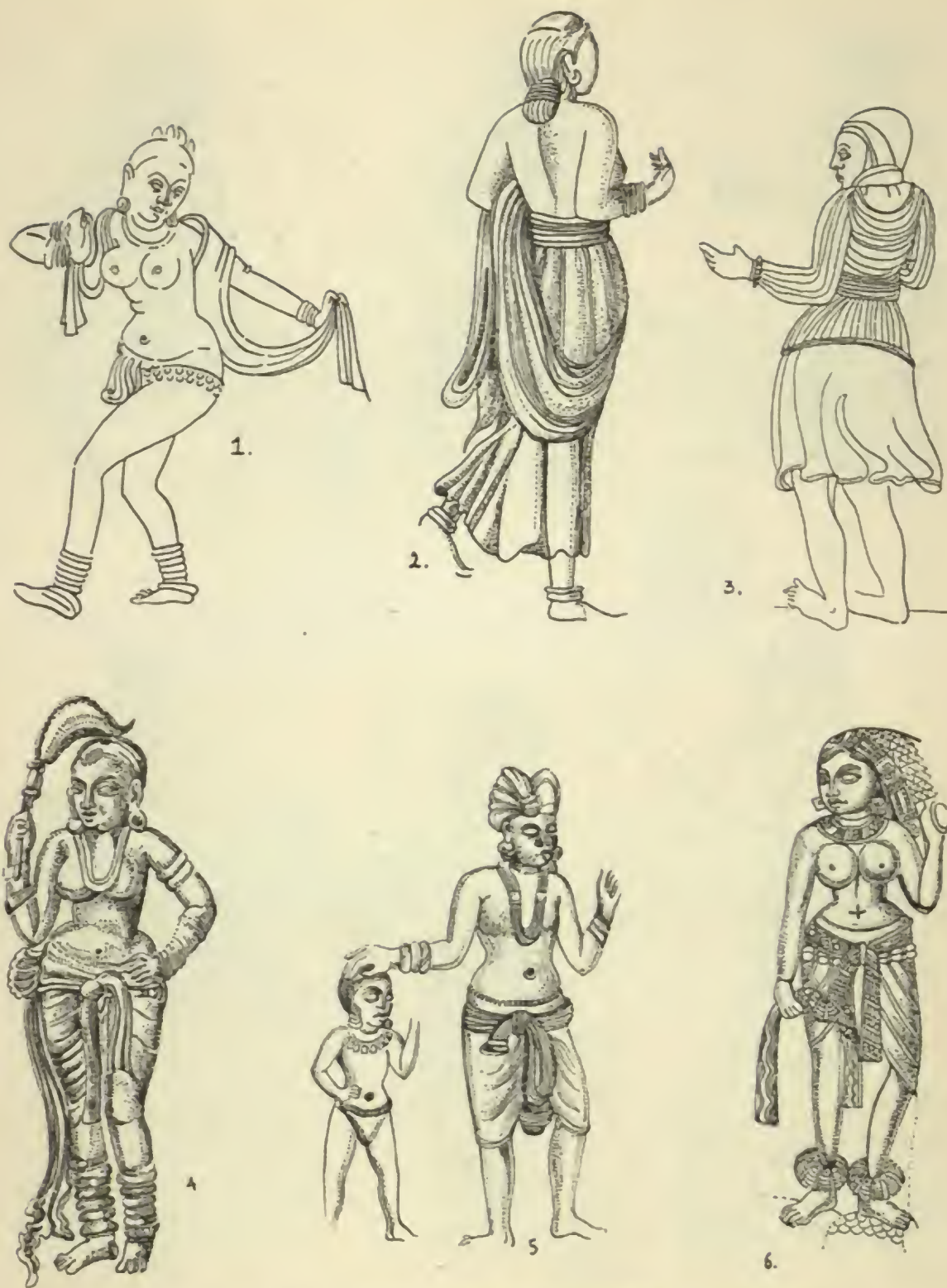
MALE AND FEMALE COSTUMES AND HEADDRESSES FROM AMARAVATI

The costumes of a Sadhu (Fig. 10) and a Buddhist monk (Fig. 15) are shown. The costume of children is almost the same as of grown up men (Fig. 12). The *dupatta* is generally shown passed transversely across the chest (Fig. 11, 13, 16). Mark the *sari*, the looped *hamarband*, the zone and the spiralled headdress of a woman (Fig. 14). The turbans are of the Mathura type provided with plaques and rings (Figs. 2, 3, 5, 7, 9) or without them (Figs. 1, 4). Caps are worn (Figs. 6, 8).



HEADDRESSES FROM THE SCULPTURES OF AMARAVATI

The sculptures of Amaravati are noted for the variety of headdresses. The turbans are tied in various ways. Specially remarkable are the peacock-feathers and bell shaped ornaments (Figs. 13, 14) and a spiral-shaped turban (Fig. 9). The caps are close-fitting to the skull (Figs. 8, 16), peaked (Figs. 15) or cylindrical (Fig. 17).



MALE AND FEMALE COSTUMES FROM AMARAVATI AND JAGAYYAPETH

A sculpture from Jagayyapeth datable to the 1st century B.C. depicts a woman with an ornamented veil, short and ornamented waistband (Fig. 6). Note the *dupatta* worn by a woman (Fig. 1). The *dupatta* or *chadar* is looped and allowed to hang on the sari (Fig. 2). The tunic and jacket worn by the male figure are remarkable (Fig. 3) for South Indian costumes. Notice the looped *kamarband* of a male (Fig. 5) and a female (Fig. 4).



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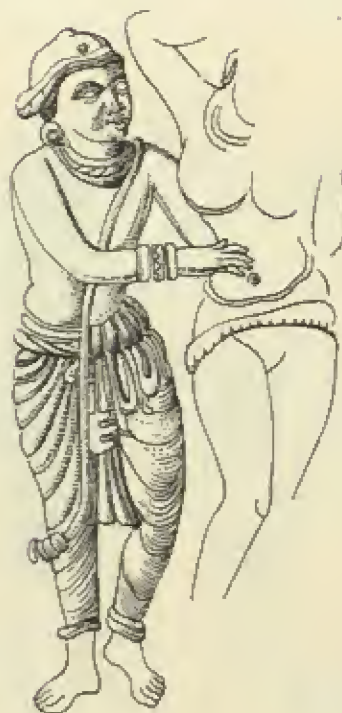
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MALE AND FEMALE COSTUMES FROM NAGARJUNIKONDA

The male *dhoti* is long and provided with the elaborate *kamarband* (Figs. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6). Its one end is tucked to the waist (Fig. 4). The skull-cap (Fig. 5) or tall cap (Fig. 6) is worn.



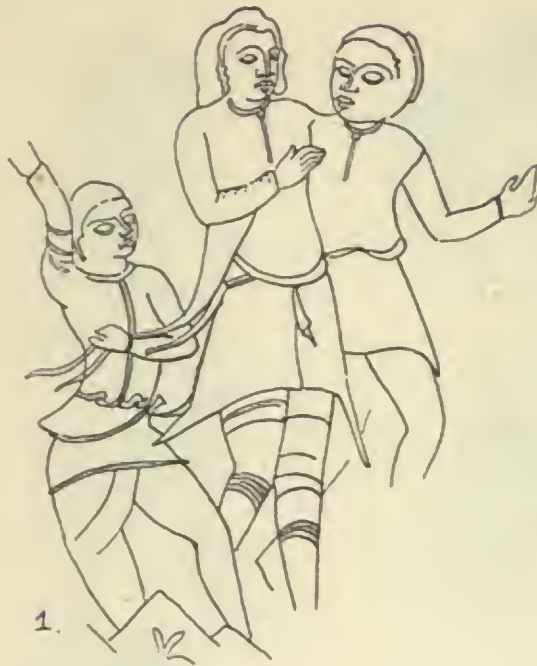
COSTUMES DEPICTED IN THE SCULPTURES OF DIFFERENT BUDDHIST SITES

The Plate gives a round-up of the costumes depicted in sculptures from various Buddhist sites. Mark the flowing *dupatta* and artistically worn *dhoti* in a second century B.C. figure from Sarnath (Fig. 6). The female figure in a Sarnath sculpture wears a long *dupatta* (Fig. 8). Mark the fan-like end of the veil of a woman in a Sanchi bas-relief (Fig. 2). The peaked headdress of a woman in a Sanchi bas-relief is noticeable (Fig. 5). The men in Nagarjunikonda bas-relief wear elaborately looped *kamarband* (Figs. 4, 7). In an Amaravati sculpture an attendant is shown wearing a long tunic and a cap (Fig. 1) while a soldier wears a *dhoti* and a cap (Fig. 3).



MALE COSTUMES IN THE PAINTINGS FROM AJANTA

Paintings in the Caves of Ajanta datable from the second century B.C. to 6th century A.D. form important documents in the history of Indian art. It is significant to note that though the sculptural art of the Gupta-Vakataka period becomes spiritual and conventional, the pictorial art of Ajanta continues the realist tradition of earlier times. Though dealing with Buddhistic legends and stories, the art of Ajanta has a social background, throwing important sidelight on the life and manners of the people. The costumes represented in Ajanta paintings cover almost all the contemporary types. The princesses dress simply but elegantly (Figs. 2, 5, 6). The *dhoti* is held by a *kamarband* and the *dupatta* is narrow. Elaborate crowns are worn. Many a times the head is allowed to remain uncovered and the *dupatta* is passed over the chest (Fig. 3). The soldiers wear a short jacket and a loin-cloth (Fig. 1). The Buddhist monks go in their traditional costume of *uttarasanga*, *nivāsana* and *Saṅghati* (Fig. 4).



SEWN GARMENTS REPRESENTED IN AJANTA PAINTINGS

The soldiers wear pointed tunics and trousers (Fig. 1). The ministers and merchants wear tunics, *chadars* and shoes (Figs. 2, 3). The geese pattern on a tunic is remarkable (Fig. 4). Notice the elaborate pattern on a tunic (Fig. 5).



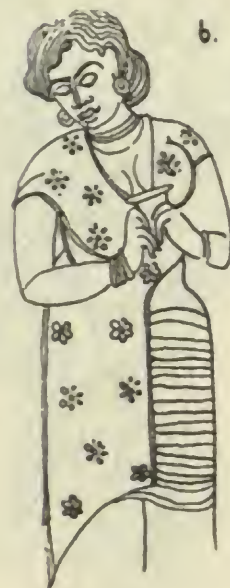
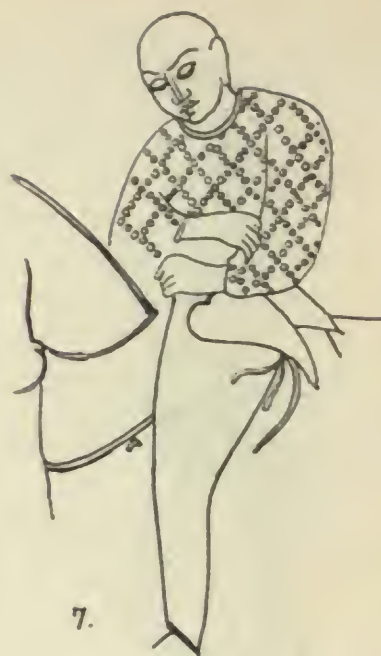
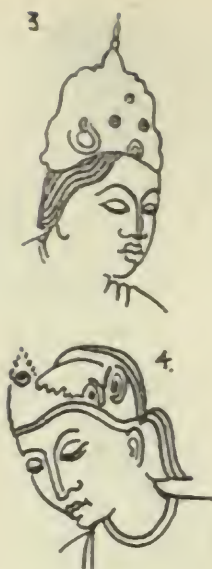
FEMALE COSTUMES FROM AJANTA

It is apparent from Ajanta painting that females dressed simply but elegantly. The *dhoti* and skirt are usually short (Figs. 1, 6). Specially effective is the ornamented *sari*, the apron and the jewelled headdress of a dancer (Fig. 2). Breasts bands are worn (Figs. 3, 5). The headdress, often tasselled looks very chic (Fig. 4).



FEMALE COSTUMES FROM AJANTA

The short sari is tucked behind and the flowing *dupatta*, the tight bodice and the hair ribbons impart elegance to the figure (Fig. 1). At times the ends of the *kamarband* are shown fluttering in the air (Fig. 2). The sari at times reaches the knee and the *dupatta* is worn across the chest (Fig. 3). Mark the *maniere* grace of the saris and *dupattas* (Figs. 4, 5, 6).



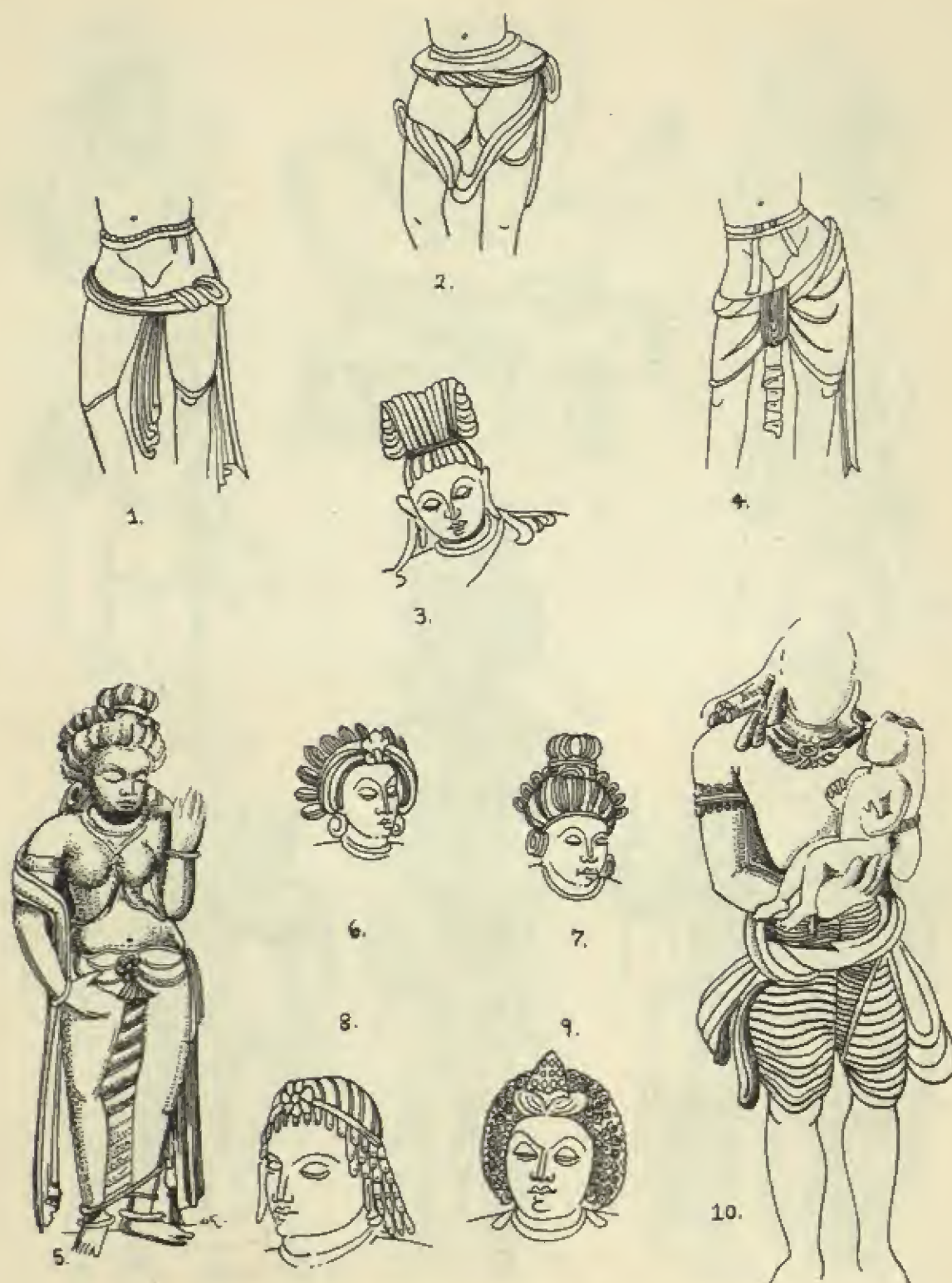
MALE AND FEMALE COSTUMES FROM BAGH FRESCOES

The wall paintings in the Bagh caves in Madhya Pradesh follow Gupta tradition and give certain interesting details of the costumes of the period. The male dancers wear tunics, their heads covered with scarves (Figs. 1, 8). A female dancer wears sort of apron (Figs. 2, 6). Note the chequered pattern of the tunic of a cavalier (Fig. 7). Both men and women wear tiaras and caps (Figs. 3, 4, 5).



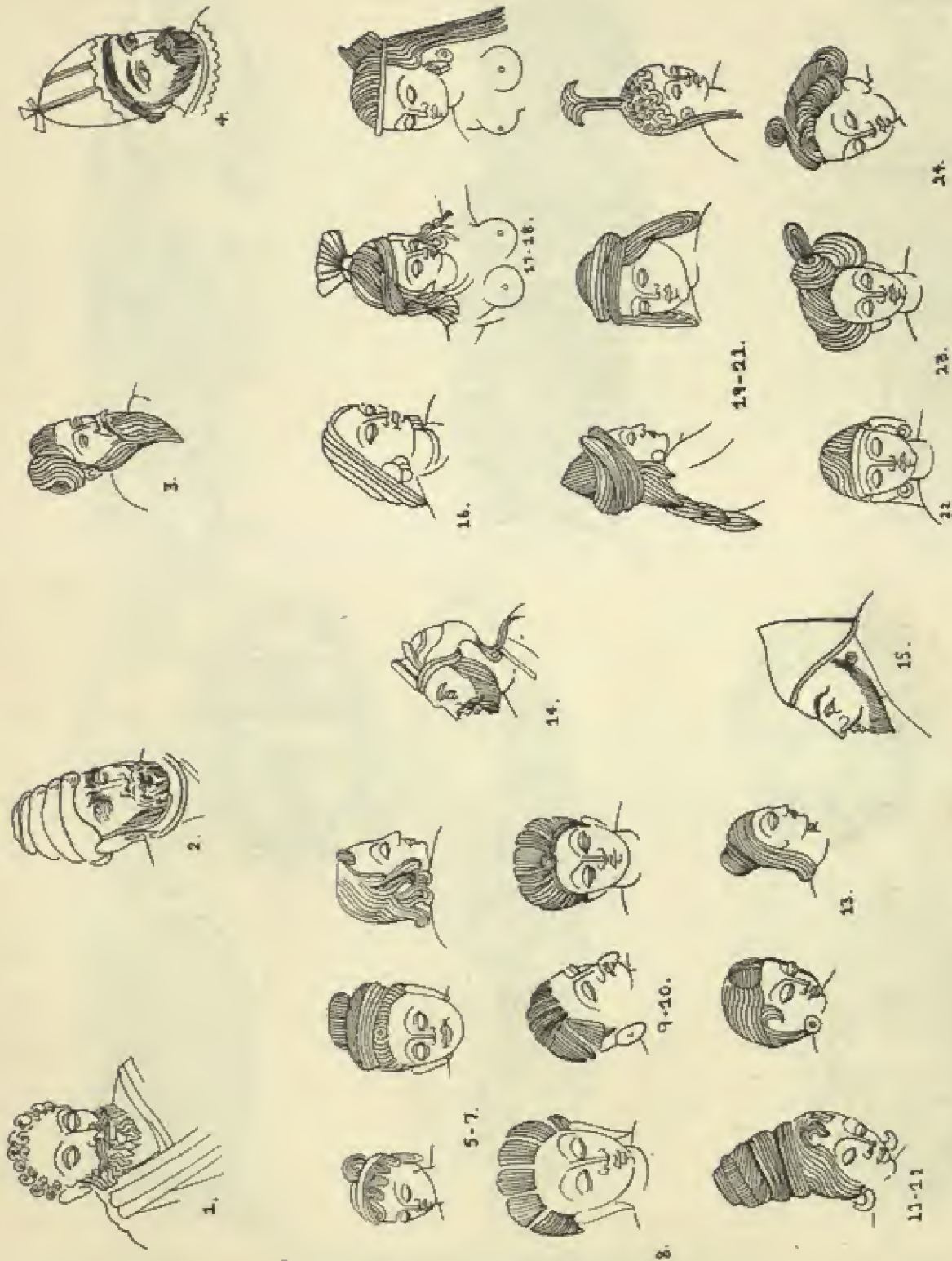
MALE AND FEMALE COSTUMES ON GUPTA COINS

Gupta gold coins of the fourth and fifth centuries represent interesting details of the royal costumes. The King is either clad in a simple loin cloth (Fig. 2) or wears a tunic and close-fitting trousers, which are either plain or decorated with bosses (Figs. 4, 6, 7, 8, 9). Mark the close-fitting cap (Fig. 1). The queens wear *saris*, long floating *dupattas* and bodices (Figs. 3, 5, 7, 9).



COSTUMES AND HAIRSTYLES FROM THE SCULPTURES OF DEOGARH

The sixth-century sculptures of the Deogarh temple in Lalitpur District, U.P., give some interesting details of Indian costumes. The looped *kamarband* worn over the short *dhōti* is a speciality (Figs. 1, 2, 4, 10). The female costumes consist of long *saris* and *dupattas* (Fig. 5). The hair is either piled up on the top of the head (Fig. 3), curled (Fig. 9) or arranged in ringlets (Fig. 8). A female headdress is fan-like (Fig. 6). The hair is tied in a top-knot (Fig. 7).



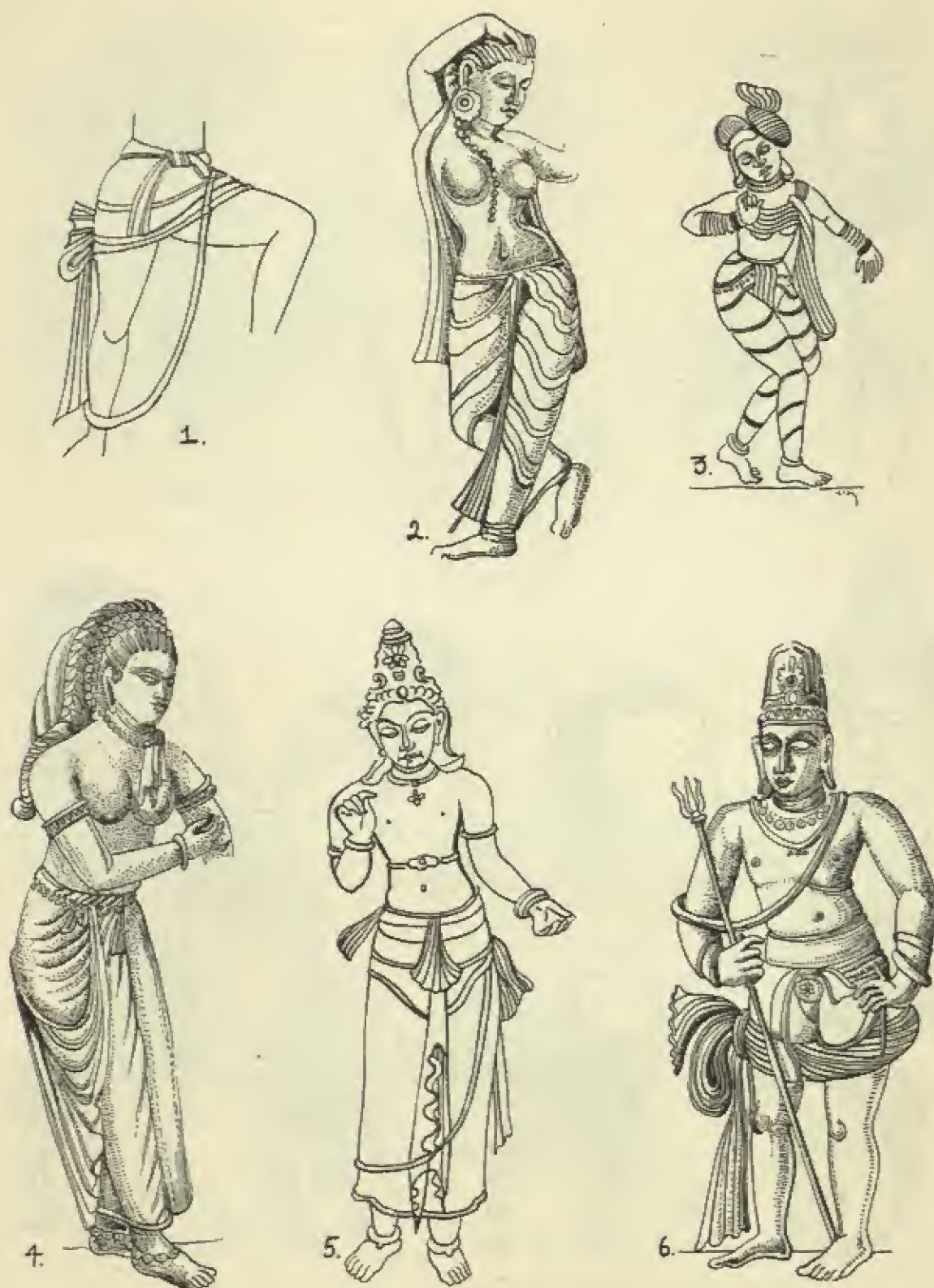
BEARDS, MOUSTACHES AND FEMALE HAIRSTYLES

The ancient Indian sculptures from the second century B.C. to sixth century A.D. delight in representing varieties of hairstyles, both male and female. The beards are usually short cropped (Figs. 1, 2, 4, 14, 15) or long (Fig. 3). The female hairstyle in the early period (2nd-1st century B.C.) is braided or allowed to hang loose (Figs. 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22). At Mathura it is combed back (Figs. 9, 10, 12) or arranged in a spiral (Fig. 11). In Gandhara sculptures it is arranged in ringlets (Fig. 5), is spiral shaped (Fig. 6), allowed to hang in short locks (Fig. 7) or is plaited and wound round the head (Fig. 24). In a Gupta figure part of it is arranged in a top knot, and the rest allowed to hang loose (Fig. 13).



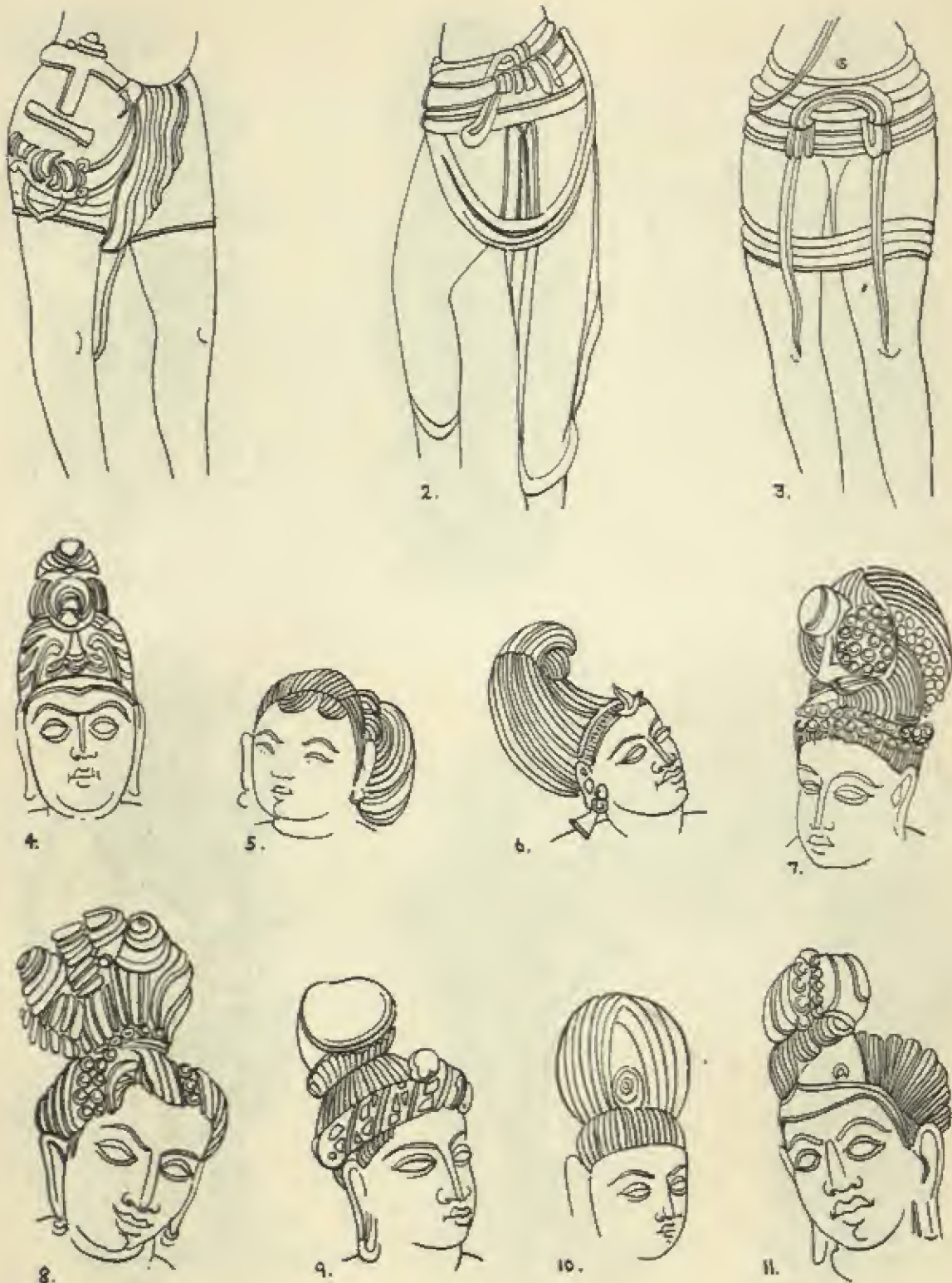
HEADRESSES AND COSTUMES FROM THE SCULPTURES AND TERRACOTTA FIGURINES FROM KAUSAMBI (KOSAM)

The ancient city of Kausambi (Kosam) near Allahabad, U.P., is a rich archaeological site which has yielded a large number of sculptures and terracottas ranging in date from the third century B.C. to sixth century A.D. The costumes represented in the sculptures and terracottas follow the patterns current in other parts of India in the same period, with slight local variations. The *dhoti* in Gupta period is long and is provided with *hamarband*; one end of the *dupatta* is passed over the left shoulder (Fig. 3). Note the short *dhoti* and *mukuta* (Fig. 7). The female costume in the second century B.C. consists of a long *sari*, a tunic and a heavy headdress (Fig. 2). The female costume, however, it consists of a long *sari* tied with *hamarband* and a *dupatta*; the rectangular headdress is provided with decorative rosettes (Fig. 1). The male headdresses are fairly elaborate. A short ornamented turban appears (Fig. 4). It is provided with ornamental plaques (Figs. 5, 6). In the Gupta period tall *mukuta* appears (Fig. 8).



COSTUMES ANCIENT AND MEDIAEVAL

The plate represents a cross section of ancient costumes and their emergence into stylised mediaeval types. Dancers, both male and female, wear dresses which did not affect their movements (Figs. 1, 2). Specially effective is the costume of a female dancer of the late third century A.D. The *sari* and the headdress in the mediaeval period are rather elaborate (Fig. 4). In the male costumes, though the *dhoties* and *kamarbands* follow a realistic tradition, the headdresses are conventional (Figs. 5, 6).



MALE AND FEMALE COSTUMES AND HAIRSTYLES FROM PATTADAKAL

The sculptures from Pattadakal in Mysore State are excellent examples of early Chalukyan style datable to the eighth century. The *dhoti* and *sari*, short or long, are tied with looped *kamarbands* and belts (Figs. 1, 2, 3). The male hairstyles (Figs. 4, 8, 9, 11) are conch-shell like, fanlike, and arranged in top knots and are decorated with pearl strings, jewelled plaques, etc. The female hairstyle is bunlike (Fig. 5), hornlike (Fig. 6), piled in several top knots (Fig. 7) or arranged in a huge top knot (Fig. 10).



COSTUMES AND HAIRSTYLES FROM THE SCULPTURES OF BHUBANESHWAR

The temple sculptures of Bhubaneswar ranging from roughly eighth to thirteenth century are distinguished for their sensuousness. The costumes though stylised retain some elements of realism. The *dhoti dupatta* and stylised headdress are chief elements of the male costume (Figs. 1, 2). In the female costume the elegance of the short *sari* is enhanced by the *kamarband* arranged fanlike (Fig. 7) or tied round the waist in various folds (Fig. 8). The hairstyles of the women are sausage-like (Fig. 3), arranged in top knots (Fig. 4), arranged in loose locks surmounted with a tiara (Fig. 5), or arranged in double top knot (Fig. 6).



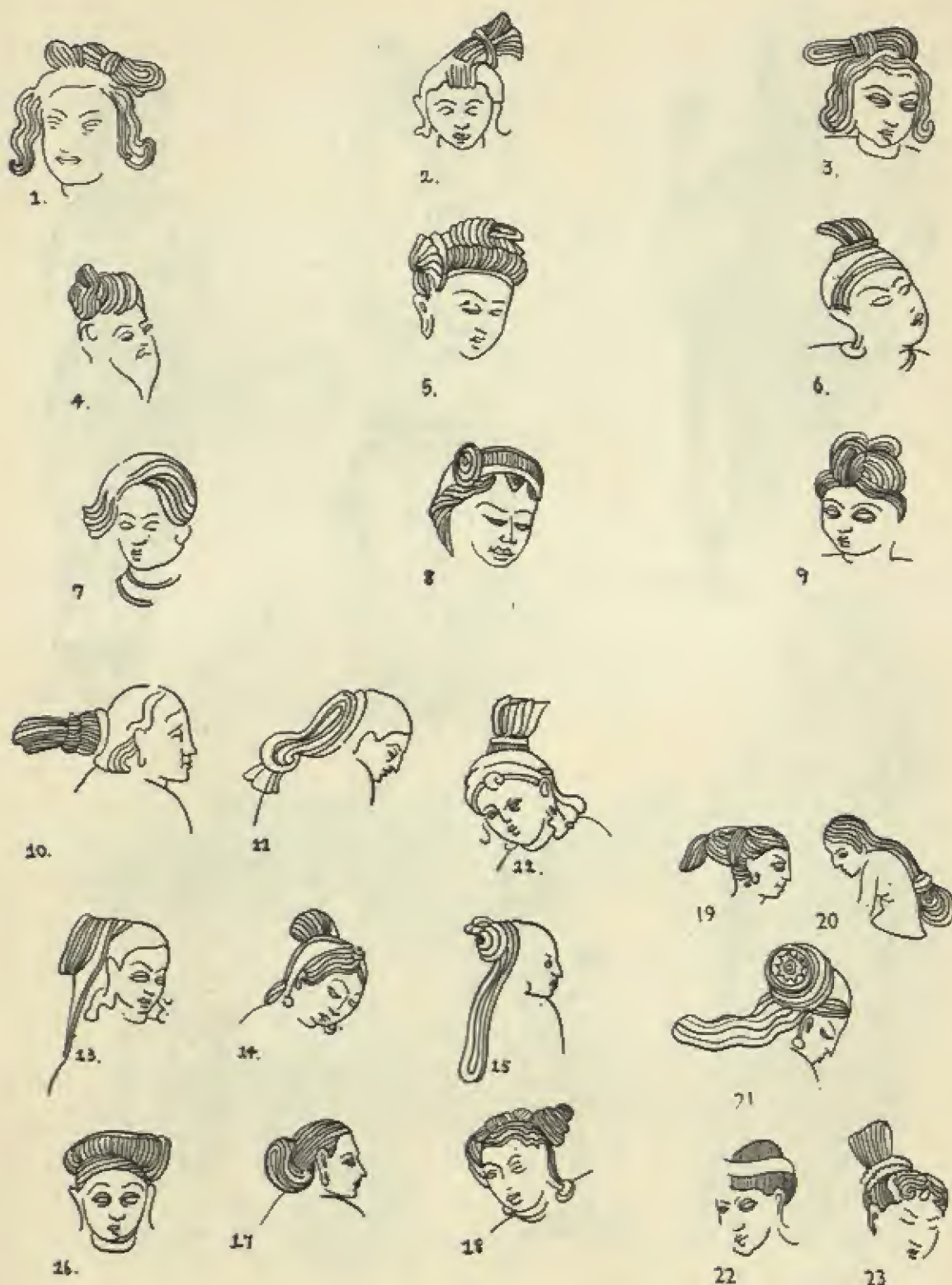
COSTUMES AND HAIRSTYLES FROM THE SCULPTURES AND PAINTINGS AT ELLORA

The Rashtrakuta cave temples at Ellora dating from the eighth to the tenth century are famous for their sculptures which combine spiritual force with highly developed plastic qualities. Divorced from the realism of everyday life the sculptures of Ellora portray the deeds of the gods in which preconceived iconography plays an important part. The costume of gods and goddesses is, therefore, idealised and predetermined, though certain details seem to have been borrowed from the contemporary costumes. The *dhoti*, the *kamaband* and narrow *dupatta* are realistic (Fig. 1). So are the half sleeved jacket and the narrow looped *kamarband* of the male figure in a painting (Fig. 3). The female *sari* is long or short, provided with a belt and *kamarband* (Fig. 2). Mark the half sleeved bodice worn by a woman (Fig. 4).



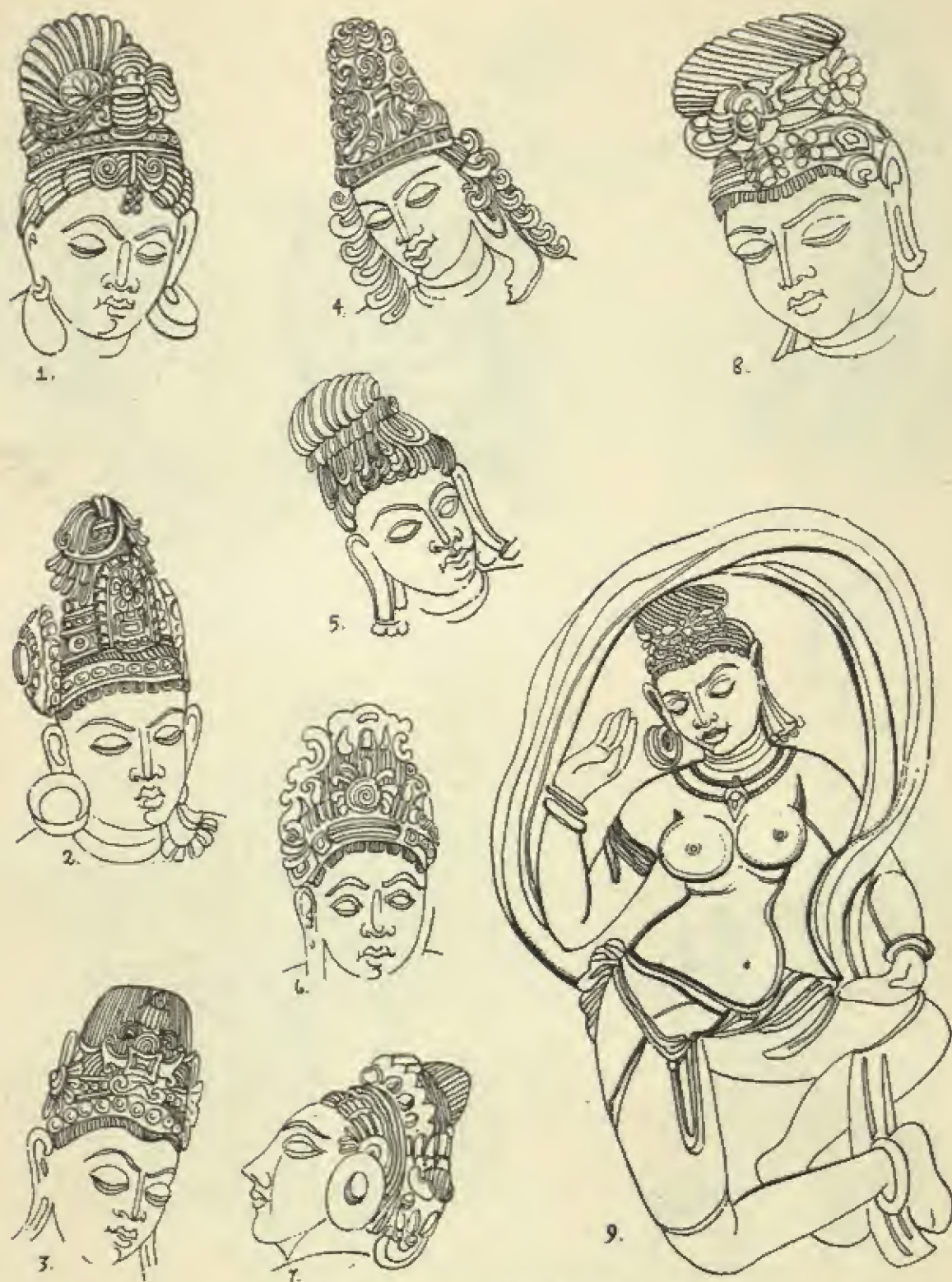
COSTUMES FROM THE SCULPTURES OF SOUTH INDIA

The sculptures in South India have a long history. The Pallavas, the Cholas, the Vijayanagar rulers and the Nayakas of Tanjore built temples continuously from seventh to the seventeenth century. In the Pallava temple at Mahabalipuram the *dhoti* tied with a belt and provided with a *hamarband* reminds of a similar *dhoti* in Amaravati sculptures (Figs. 2, 4, 6). The figure of Gangadhara Shiva also wears a similar *dhoti* though his *jalamukuta* is conventional (Fig. 1). The male and female costumes of Vijayanagar period are more ornamental (Fig. 7). Note the long stylised *sari* and the spiralled headdress of a woman in the seventeenth century (Fig. 3).



HAIRSTYLES FROM AMARAVATI BAS-RELIEFS

The bas-reliefs of Amaravati represent male and female hairstyles in perplexing variety. In one male hairstyle, the top-knot is shaped like a bow (Figs. 1, 2, 3). In the second variety it is spiralled (Figs. 4, 5). In other hairstyles the top-knot is flat (Fig. 6); the long hair is turned over the head (Fig. 7); it is tied with a ribbon (Fig. 8) and it is arranged in several top-knots (Fig. 9). The following female hairstyles may be noted—plaited and knotted horizontally (Fig. 10); loosely tied hair locks (Fig. 11); the top-knot shaped like a fan (Fig. 12); spiralled (Fig. 13); parted in the middle (Fig. 14); three plaited (Fig. 15); sausage-shaped top-knot (Fig. 16); plain looped hair (Fig. 17); combination of the bow and spiral top-knots (Fig. 18); looped top-knot (Fig. 19); loose hair (Fig. 20); partly plaited, partly knotted hair (Fig. 21); top-knot (Fig. 22), looped and decorated with wreaths (Fig. 23).

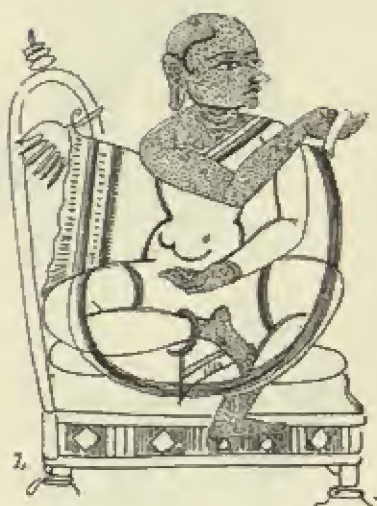


HAIRSTYLES FROM THE SCULPTURES OF PATTADAKAL

Very elaborate hairstyles are represented in the sculptures of Pattadakal dating back to the eighth century. The following male hairstyles are distinguishable: conical top-knot, the curled side locks (Fig. 4); conical top-knot with bow and fringe of wavy hair on the forehead (the elaborate *mukuta*) (Fig. 2); top-knot covered with an elaborate bow and fringe of wavy hair on the forehead (the elaborate *mukuta*) (Fig. 2); top-knot covered with an elaborate bow and fringe of wavy hair on the forehead (the elaborate *mukuta*) (Fig. 2). The following female hairstyles may be noted: curled hair with fanlike top-knot tied with pearl strings (Fig. 1); curled and pile up hair with sausage shaped top-knot (Fig. 5); top-knot decorated with a heavy ornament (Fig. 7); parted hair with sausage-shaped top-knot (Figs. 8, 9).



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COSTUMES IN WESTERN INDIAN PAINTINGS

The late mediaeval Indian sculpture, being conventional, does not do full justice to costumes. However from the twelfth century to the sixteenth century Jain miniature painting from Western India give interesting details of Indian costumes. Men though wearing short *dhotis* and *dupattas* (Fig. 3) often wear jackets (Fig. 1). The Jain monk wear *dhotis* and *chadars* (Fig. 2). The female dancers wear a *kamarband* and a *patka* (Fig. 4) or a *sari*, a veil and a *dupatta* (Fig. 5).



MUGHAL COSTUMES OF THE AKBAR PERIOD

With the advent of Islam in India, the costume of the court underwent revolutionary changes. The Persian and Central Asian types came in vogue and on their basis a national costume was evolved. Akbar's (1556-1605 A.D.) innovations in various fields of administration and cultural life of the people are well-known. He made certain changes in the contemporary costumes. In the period of Jahangir (1605-1627 A.D.) the costumes of Akbar period continued, but in the period of Shahjahan (1627-1658) the turban and *jama* changed their forms. The Mughal costumes of the eighteenth century, however, become more elaborate and reflect the growing luxury of the court. The male costume of the Akbar-Jahangir period consists of three types of *jama*—one reaching below the knee (Figs. 2, 3, 4) and the other with pointed ends (Fig. 5); in the third type which is rare the *jama* is long (Fig. 6). The turbans are loosely wound, and the waist is tied with the *kamarbands* and belts. *Chadars* are also worn. The trousers are narrow and tightfitting. The women also wore costume similar to that of males. Mark the pointed tunic worn by a woman (Fig. 1).



COSTUMES OF THE JAHANGIR—SHAHJAHAN PERIOD

Jahangir wears a turban, a *jamah*, trousers and a *kamarband* (Fig. 1). The horseman wears the Persian turban, a tunic over the *jamah*, a belt and full boots (Fig. 2). In the Shahjahan period the turban is bound with a sash or is of Persian type; the *jamah* is lower and at times pleated; the *kamarband* is flowered (Figs. 3, 4, 5).



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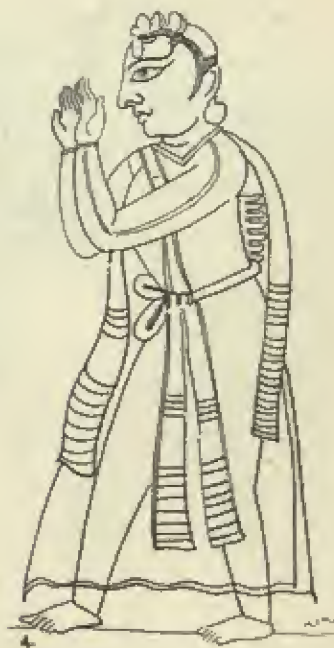
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THE MUGHAL AND DECCANI COSTUMES

The women in Jahangir-Shahjahan period wear a long or short *pairhan*, trousers, *patka* and *chadar* (Figs. 1, 2). In the Deccani costumes of C. 1570 A.D. a man is shown wearing a long pointed *jamak*, trousers, a *kamarband* and a short sloping turban (Fig. 3). A woman wears her *sari* in a typically Deccani fashion (Fig. 4).



EARLY RAJASTHANI COSTUMES (c. 1500-1600)

The four-cornered pointed *jamah*, the trousers, the *patka* and shoes are reminiscent of the Akbar period though the *hulah-turban* is not found in the art of the period (Fig. 1). Note typical female costumes of the period consisting of a wimple, tight bodice, *patka* and flowered skirt (Fig. 2). Slightly later in date a man wears a long *jamah*, a *kamarband* and a *dupatta* (Fig. 4). The costume of the woman (Fig. 3) recalls the type in Fig. 2.



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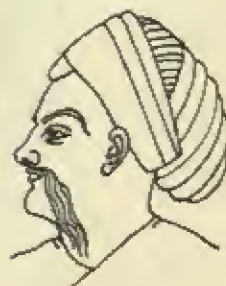
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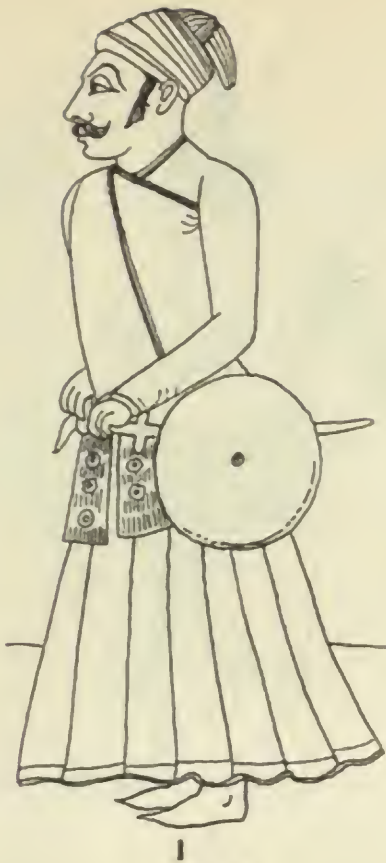
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RAJASTHANI COSTUME TYPES IN THE 17th AND 18th CENTURIES

The costume consisting of a bound turban, *jamah*, trousers, and *kamarband* follows closely the mid-seventeenth century style (Fig. 1). Note the interesting skirt and cap of a male dancer (Fig. 2). The turbans of Marwar in the eighteenth century are tall and elaborate (Figs. 3, 4, 5).



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RAJASTHANI MALE COSTUMES IN THE 18th CENTURY

The Rajasthani costume in this period consists of long pleated *jamaks*, trousers and *patkas*, though the headgears differed from state to state, i.e., the short Kishangarh turban (Fig. 1), the Maratha Kotah type turban (Fig. 2) and tall Jodhpur turbans (Figs. 3, 4).



RAJASTHANI FEMALE COSTUMES IN THE 17th AND 18th CENTURIES

The Rajasthani women in the seventeenth century were fond of wearing transparent veils, bodices, skirts and *pathas* (Figs. 1, 4). In the eighteenth century, though the articles of the costume remains the same, their style of wearing becomes more elaborate.



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MALE AND FEMALE COSTUMES REPRESENTED IN THE BUNDI PAINTINGS OF THE 18th CENTURY

The men of Bundi besides wearing the Mughal type of costume also wear *dhoti*, *dupatta*, *chadar* and turban (Figs. 1, 2).
The women wear long *pairhans*, trousers, *patkas* and tall caps (Figs. 3, 4) or even turbans (Fig. 5).



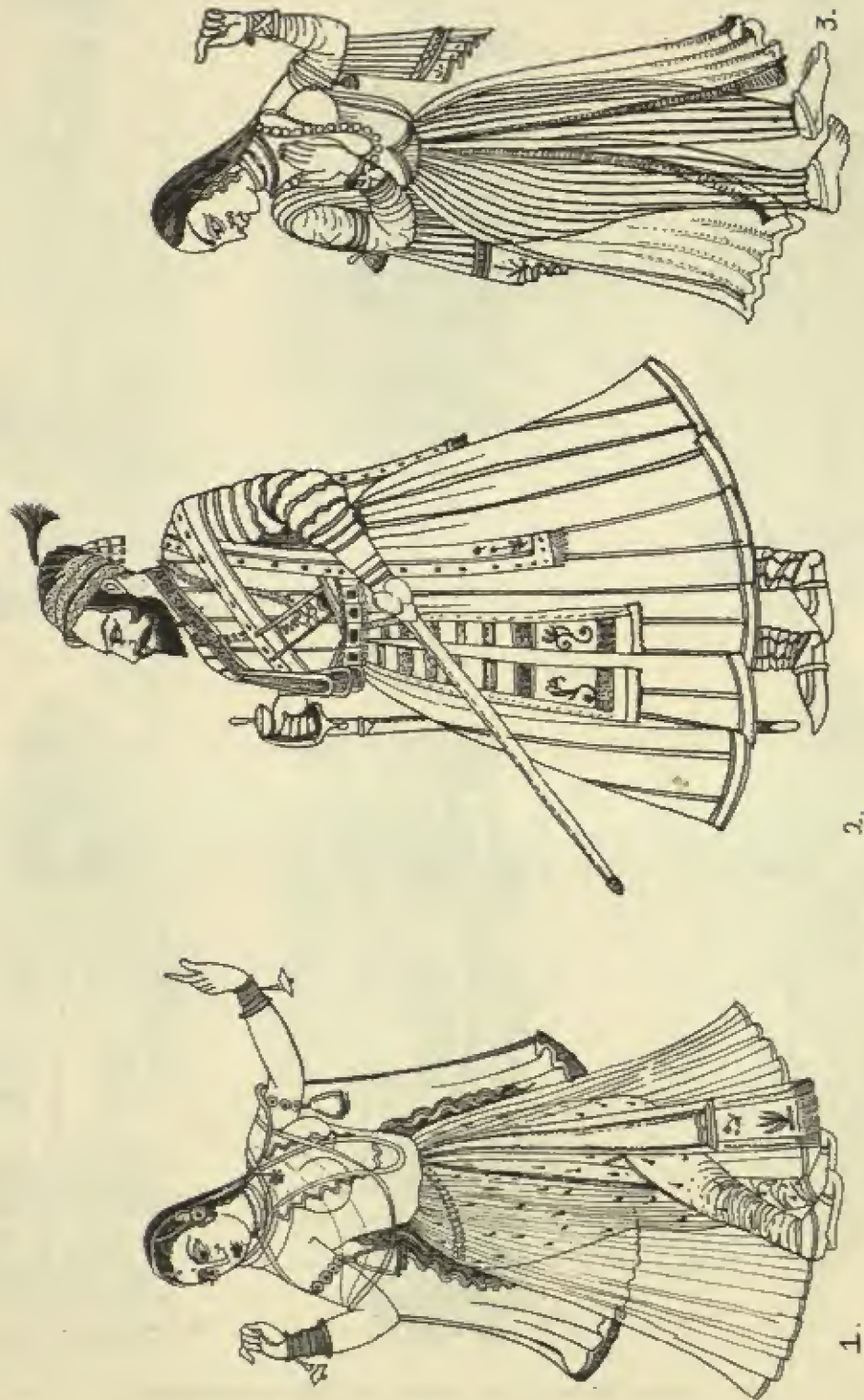
THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY COSTUMES AS DEPICTED IN THE FRESCOES
OF TIRUPARUTTIKUNDRAM

The frescoes in the Jain temples of Tiruparuttikundram give interesting details of the Vijayanagar costumes in the fourteenth century. The *dhosi* is combined with the turban and short *famah* (Fig. 2, 3). At times a tall cap in combination with a *chader* is worn (Fig. 5). Note the decorated *paths* and *kulah-turban* (Fig. 6). The women wear their *saris* in a typical southern manner, leaving their heads bare (Fig. 1, 4).



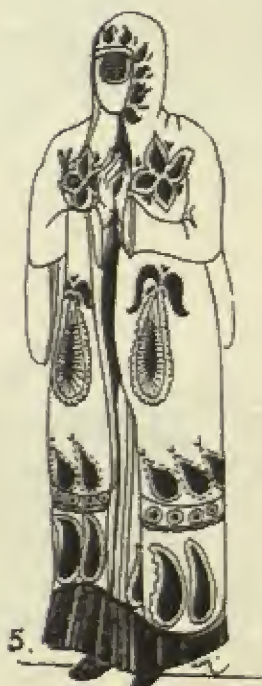
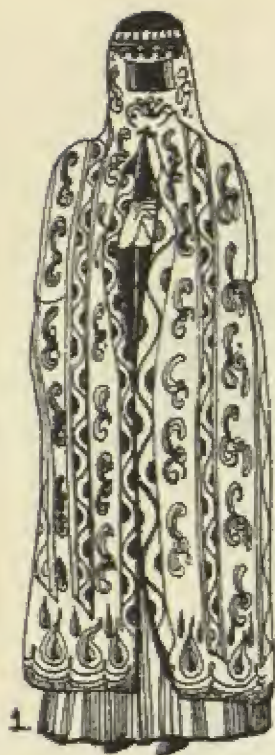
DECCANI MALE COSTUMES IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

In the late sixteenth century the Deccani costumes in the Kingdoms of Bijapur and Golconda had developed their own distinguishing types. But with greater Mughal contacts in the seventeenth century the Deccani costumes began approximating closely to their Mughal prototypes except for the turbans which retained their typical Deccani forms. The typical costume consists of a turban, *jama*, *patka*, trousers and *farji*. Notice the sloping (Fig. 1), the squat (Fig. 2) and the tall turbans (Fig. 3).



DECCANI MALE AND FEMALE COSTUMES IN THE LATE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The typical Deccani costume as evolved in Bijapur and Golconda, was worn by the Hindus and Muslims alike. The costume of Shivaji, the great Hindu leader, in no way differs from the costumes of the contemporary Deccani Muslim rulers (Fig. 2). The women wear *pairhans*, trousers and *chadars* (Figs. 1, 3) very close to their Mughal prototypes.



VEILS OR BURQAS WORN BY MUSLIM WOMEN

In keeping with the traditions of Islam strict seclusion is enjoined upon Muslim women and therefore they had to veil themselves completely before appearing in public. The Mughal paintings bear ample testimony to this custom. The *burqa* was made of costly materials, and nettings were provided near the eyes to enable the wearer to see and breathe properly (Figs. 1-6).



MALE COSTUMES REPRESENTED IN THE PAHARI PAINTINGS OF THE 18th CENTURY

In the 18th century, the hill regions of Jammu and Kangra witnessed a great upsurge in the art of painting. The pictorial art of Kangra famous for its lyrical draughtsmanship and brilliant colours is also a faithful record of contemporary manners and customs. The male costume is prototype of similar costume in the plains with slight local variations. The *jama* is long and the turban is knobbed. *Dupatta* and *hamarband* form important item of the costume (Figs. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6). Notice the short and the tasselled peacock feather cap of Krishna (Fig. 3).



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FEMALE COSTUMES IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY PAHARI PAINTINGS

Two types are distinguishable. In one type the articles of wear—the skirt, bodice and *chadar* are indigenous (Figs. 1, 2), while the second represents typical female costume of the Mughals consisting of the *pairhan*, trousers and *dupatta* (Figs. 3, 4).



FEMALE COSTUMES IN PAHARI PAINTINGS

The costume is again of two types—one consisting of the skirt, bodice and *chador* (Figs. 2, 6) and the second purely Muslim costume (Figs. 1, 3, 4). Note the cap and a jacket worn by a woman (Fig 5).



MALE AND FEMALE COSTUMES IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY PAHARI PAINTINGS

In the early eighteenth century, the women of Basohli are seen wearing a typical Mughal dress consisting of the *pairhax*, trousers, *patha* and *chadar* or *dupatta* (Figs. 1, 4). The *mukuta* worn by Krishna is stylistic, the other articles of his costume being borrowed from the contemporary Pahari costume (Fig. 3). Sometime a tall cap and a gown are worn (Fig. 2). Children wear a skull cap and a gown (Fig. 5).



COSTUMES OF THE KATHAKALI DANCERS OF KERALA

Kathakali, a popular dance of Kerala, based on Pauranic legends, combines vigorous movements and hand gestures with splendid costumes and make-up. The costume consists of long pleated gowns, skirts, *duppattas* and *makkayas* (Figs. 1-3).



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MALE AND FEMALE COSTUMES OF THE KATHAKALI DANCERS FROM KERALA

A Brahman is shown wearing a tasselled *kamarband* and an elaborate headdress (Fig. 1). Note the cylindrical headdress and gorgeous ornaments of Ravana (Fig. 2). The women wear *saris*, tunics and wimples with ornaments (Figs. 3, 4, 5).



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COSTUMES IN THE BHARAT NATYAM DANCE

The Bharat Natyam focusses its attention more on dance movements than costumes which are simple—*saris* worn in southern fashion tied at the waist with *hamarbands*, and bodices (Figs. 2, 4). Note the *sari* with fanlike projections (Fig. 3). Simple skirts and *mukutas* are worn (Fig. 1).



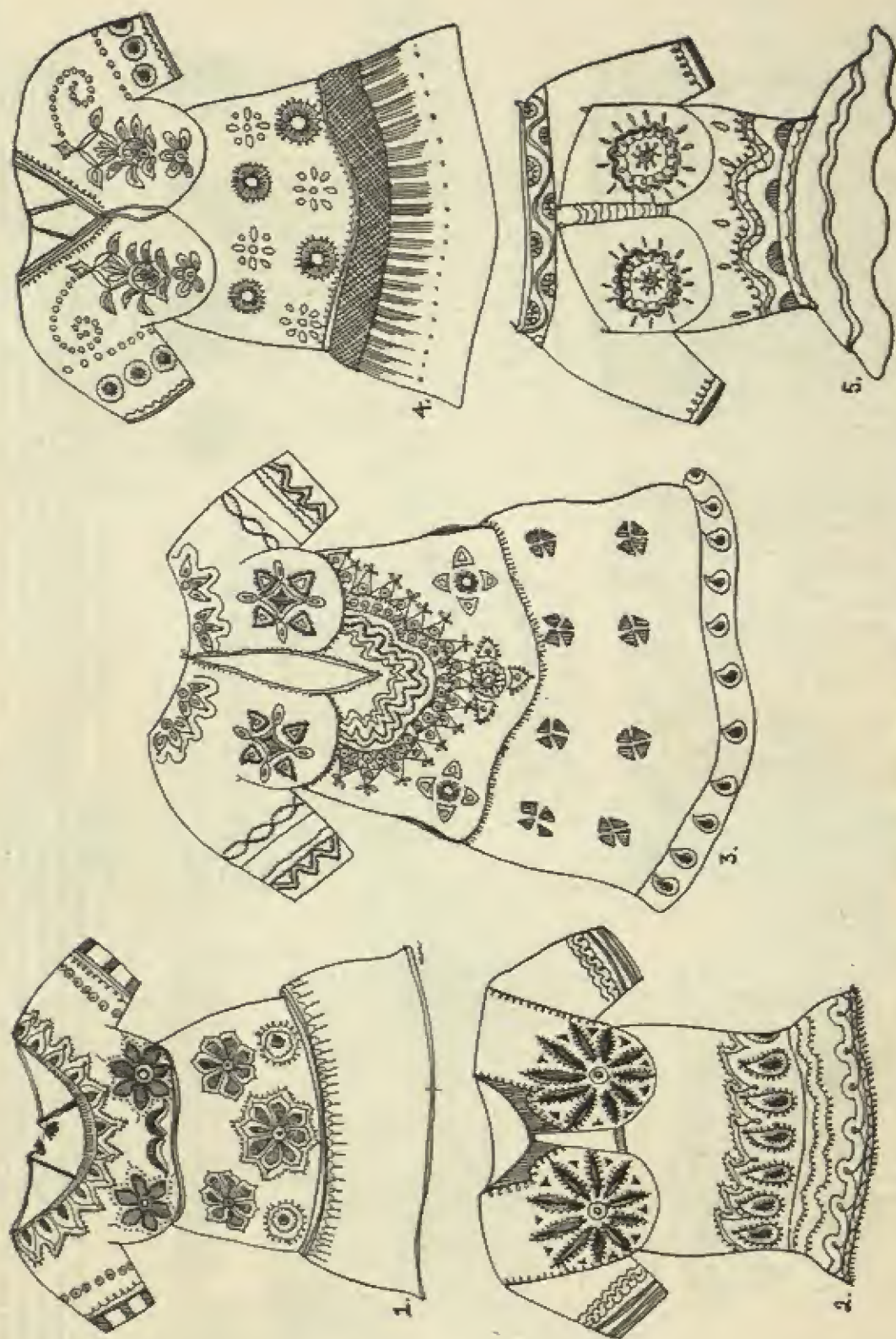
COSTUMES OF KATHAKA AND OTHER DANCERS

The Kathaka dancers effect a graceful costume consisting of caps, *jumaks* and trousers (Figs. 1, 2). Devadasis wear the *sari* and ample *hamarband* (Fig. 4). The peaked headdress, the tunic and the skirt of a Manipuri female dancer are very elegant (Fig. 3). The present day dance-costumes may well be compared with the seventeenth century prototypes (Figs. 5, 6, 7).



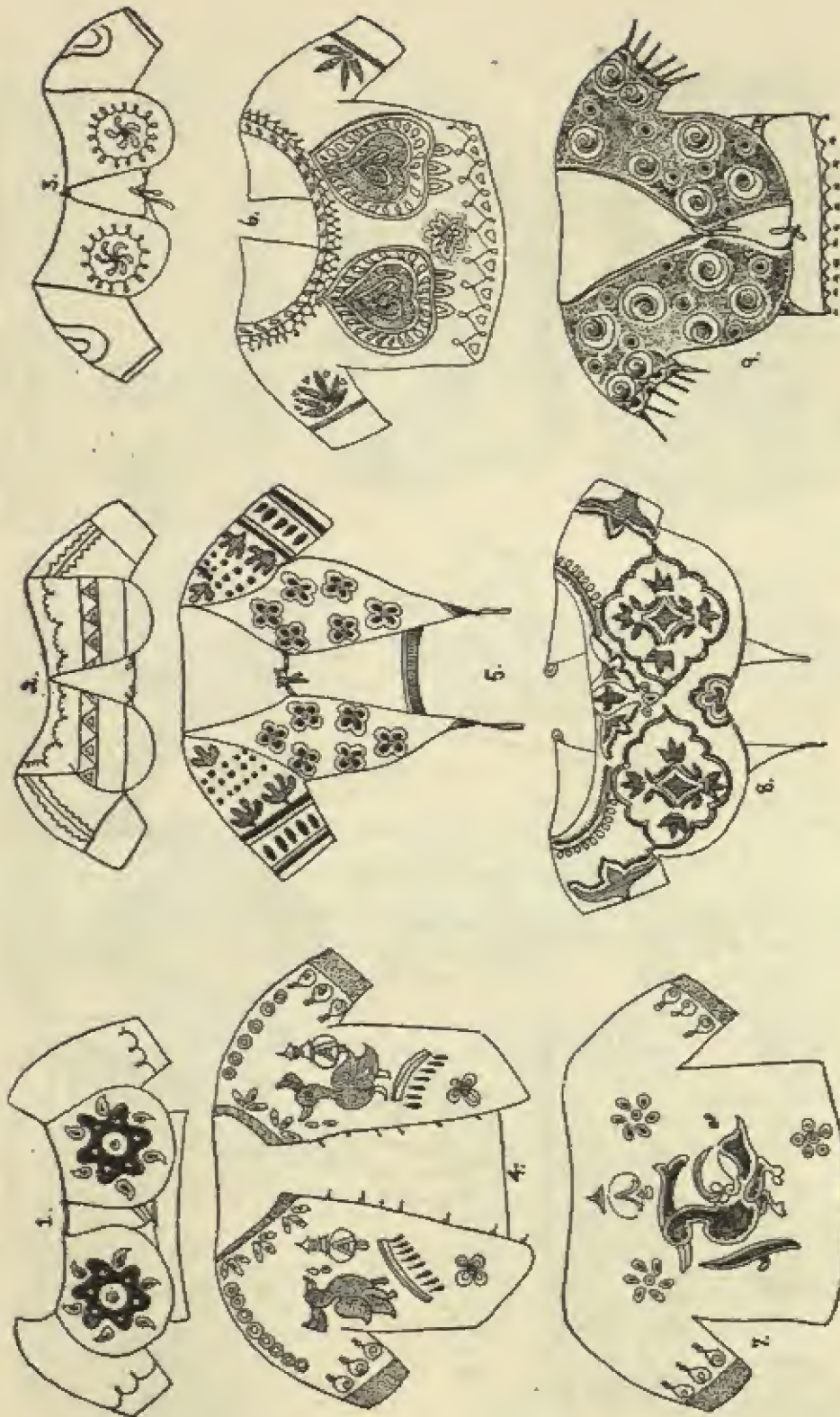
EMBROIDERED SKIRTS OR GHAGHRAS

The skirts or *ghaghraas* first appear in Mathura sculptures and in some form or other it appears as an important article of female costumes in mediæval sculptures and paintings till the eighteenth century. In the Punjab, Rajasthan, part of Madhya Pradesh, Saurashtra and Western Uttar Pradesh, the skirt has not yet disappeared as an article of costume, though it is being gradually displaced by the more graceful *sari*. The skirts in the nineteenth century were made of ordinary printed cotton or of more costly material as silk, satin, velvet and they were profusely decorated. In U.P. rich brocades were used for making skirts by the well to do. In the Punjab *phulkari* usually used as *chadar* was also used for skirt making. Saurashtra however, was famous for its chain-stitched embroidery employed for various articles but specially for borders and skirts. The ground material was neutral coloured satins, elegantly embroidered with sprays of flowers and at times bird designs. In Bhuj embroidered petticoats the patterns were at first stencilled then embroidered. The patterns show a profusion of flowers and foliage. In bodices the designs are much more intricate. The skirts shown here (Figs. 1-6) though maintaining the same form show a complexity of designs—flowers, zigzags, serrated leaves, stylised plants, triangles, lozenges, rosettes, birds, stars, etc.



EMBROIDERED PETTICOATS FROM LUCKNOW AND KUTCH

The designs on Lucknow petticoats (Fig. 2, 4, 5) consist of large rosettes, sprays, pine cones, crisscrosses. Mark the elegant stars, Maltese cross, chevron, ionzenges on Kutch petticoats (Fig. 1, 5).



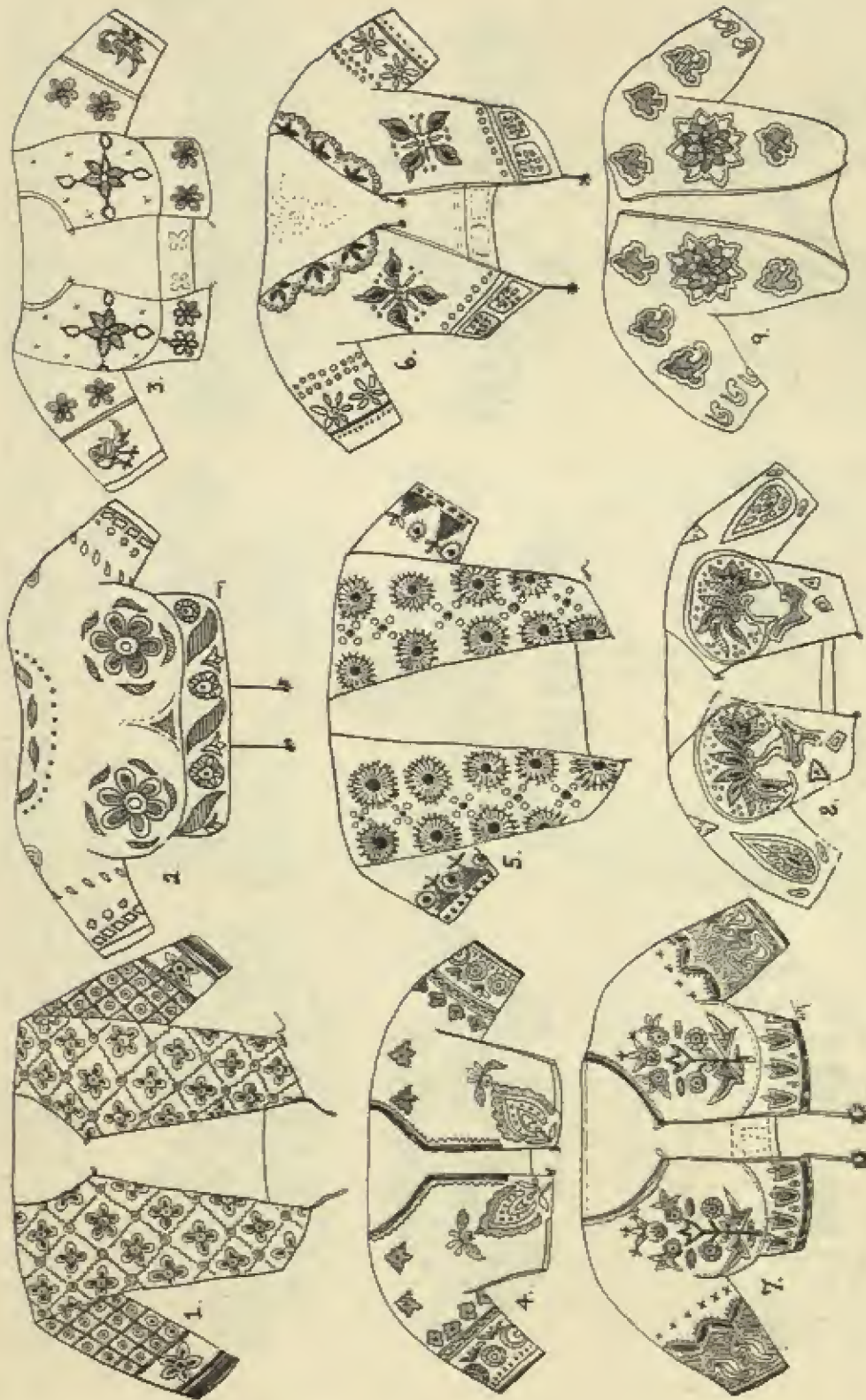
EMBROIDERED BODICES OR CHOLIS FROM KUTCH AND KATHIAWAR

The patterns such as stars, triangles, zigzags and rosettes are simple but elegant (Figs. 1-3). Mark the stylised birds on a bodice from a Jahn painting (Figs. 4, 7). The stylised plants and four petalled flowers form an attractive pattern (Fig. 5). The heart shaped ornament sometimes enhanced its beauty (Fig. 6). The breast band is decorated with cartouches and flowers (Fig. 8). In older types of bodices the design consist of spirals (Fig. 9).



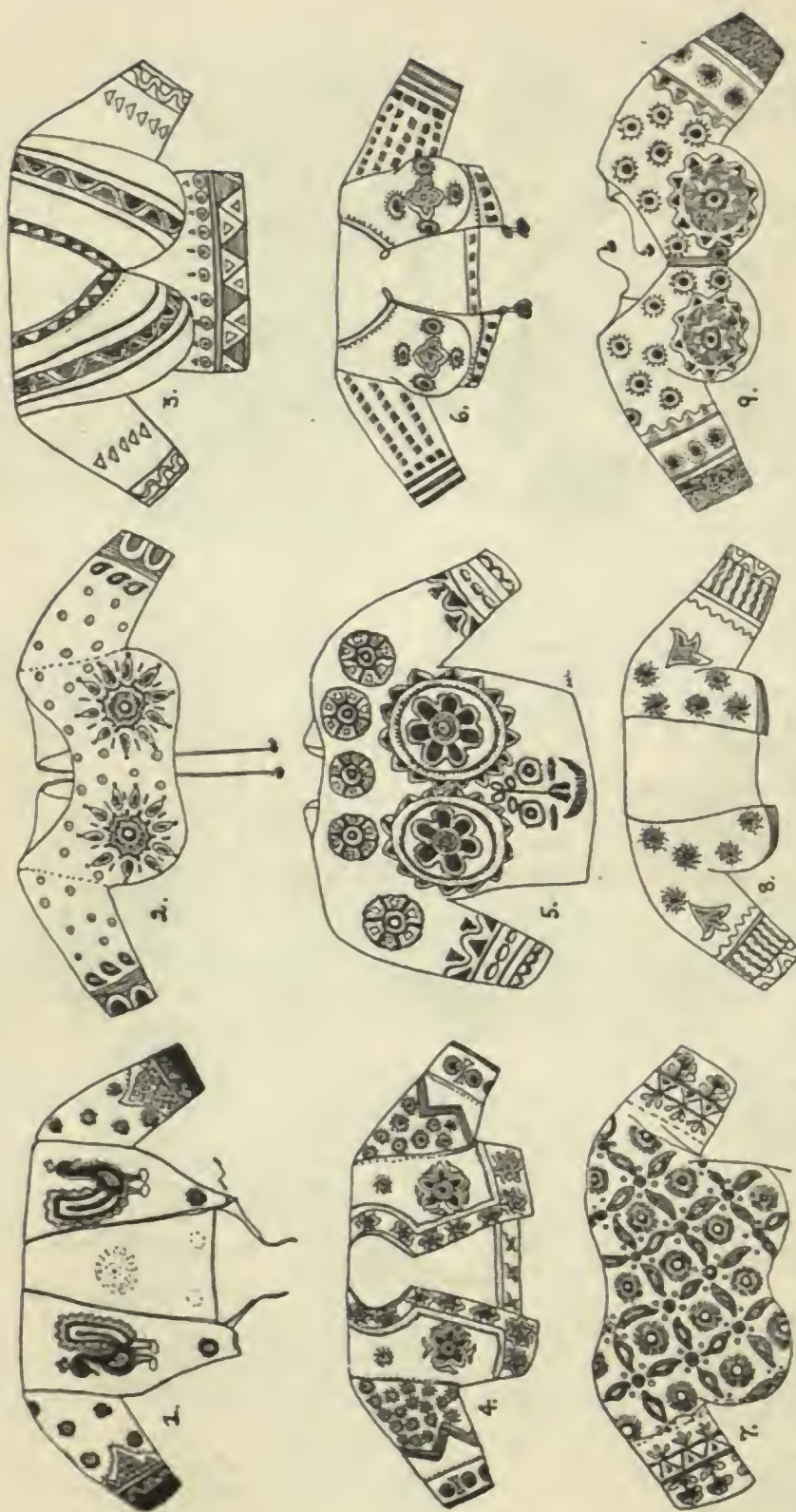
RICHLY EMBROIDERED SAURASHTRA SKIRTS

The ornaments are lozenges filled with flowers and meanders (Fig. 1), hilly landscape with flowers, birds and human figures (Fig. 2), stylised peacocks, rosettes and chevron (Fig. 3), rosettes, hatched triangles and stylised flowers (Fig. 4); stars, stylised peacocks, stars and chevron (Fig. 6), rosettes, crosses and lozenges (Fig. 7).



EMBROIDERED BODICES FROM GUJARAT, KUTCH, KATHIAWAR AND LUCKNOW

The patterns on Gujarat bodices are not elaborate. They consist of rosettes, leaves and arches (Fig. 2), stars, stylised birds and flowers (Fig. 3), cones, leaves, circles and beadings (Fig. 4). In Kutch and Kathiawar styles diaper filled with flowers (Fig. 1), rosettes, arches and huge triangles (Fig. 5), sprigs, circles and stylised flowers (Fig. 6), and stylised plants (Fig. 7) are shown. In Lucknow style sprigs and cones (Fig. 8), stars and stylised leaves appear (Fig. 9).



EMBROIDERED BODICES FROM KUTCH-KATHIAWAR

Some elegant designs are reproduced in this Plate:—Stylised peacocks, rosettes and piled up lozenges (Fig. 1), stars and circles (Fig. 2), meanders and hachured triangles (Fig. 3), rosettes and stars (Fig. 4), rosettes, stylised plants, hachured triangles and lozenges (Fig. 5), triple lines and cartouches (Fig. 6), diaper filled with rosettes, stylised flowers (Fig. 7), rosettes and zigzags (Fig. 8), rosettes and stars (Fig. 9).



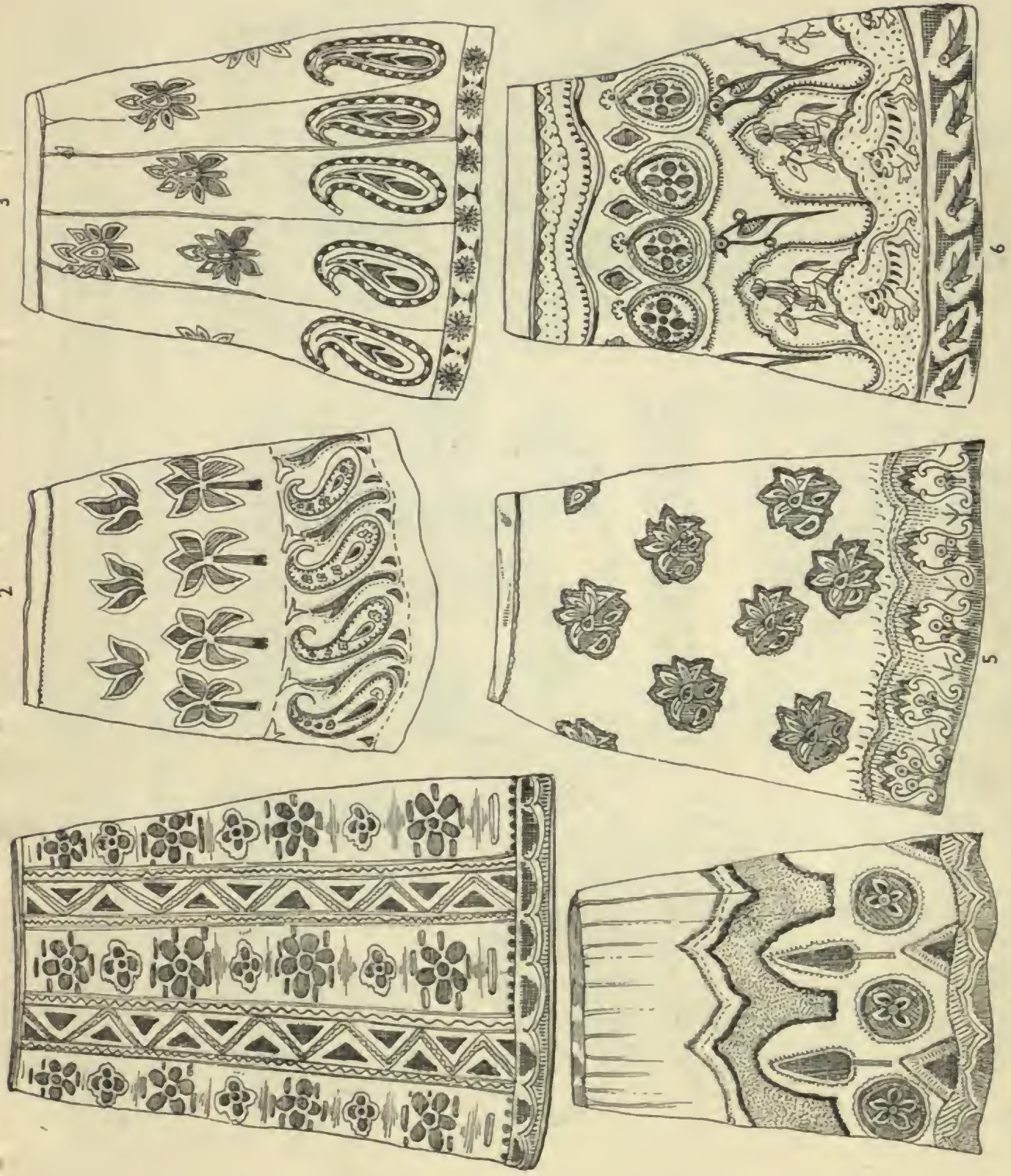
EMBROIDERED SKIRTS FROM VARIOUS REGIONS OF INDIA

Skirts, though they retain the same form throughout India betray their origin by their significant patterns. In the 18th century northern Indian type the skirt was often embroidered with gold thread. The pattern is crescent and rosette (Fig. 1), leaves and stylised birds (Fig. 2) and stylised sprigs and rosettes (Fig. 6). In the tie-dyed work of Gujarat and Rajasthan the pattern consists of lozenges and stylised birds (Fig. 3). In a Peshawar skirt the pattern consists of tender stylised plants and a floral meander (Fig. 4). In an Alwar tie-dyed skirt the rich pattern consists of lozenges, triangles made of circles, stylised birds and rosettes (Fig. 5).



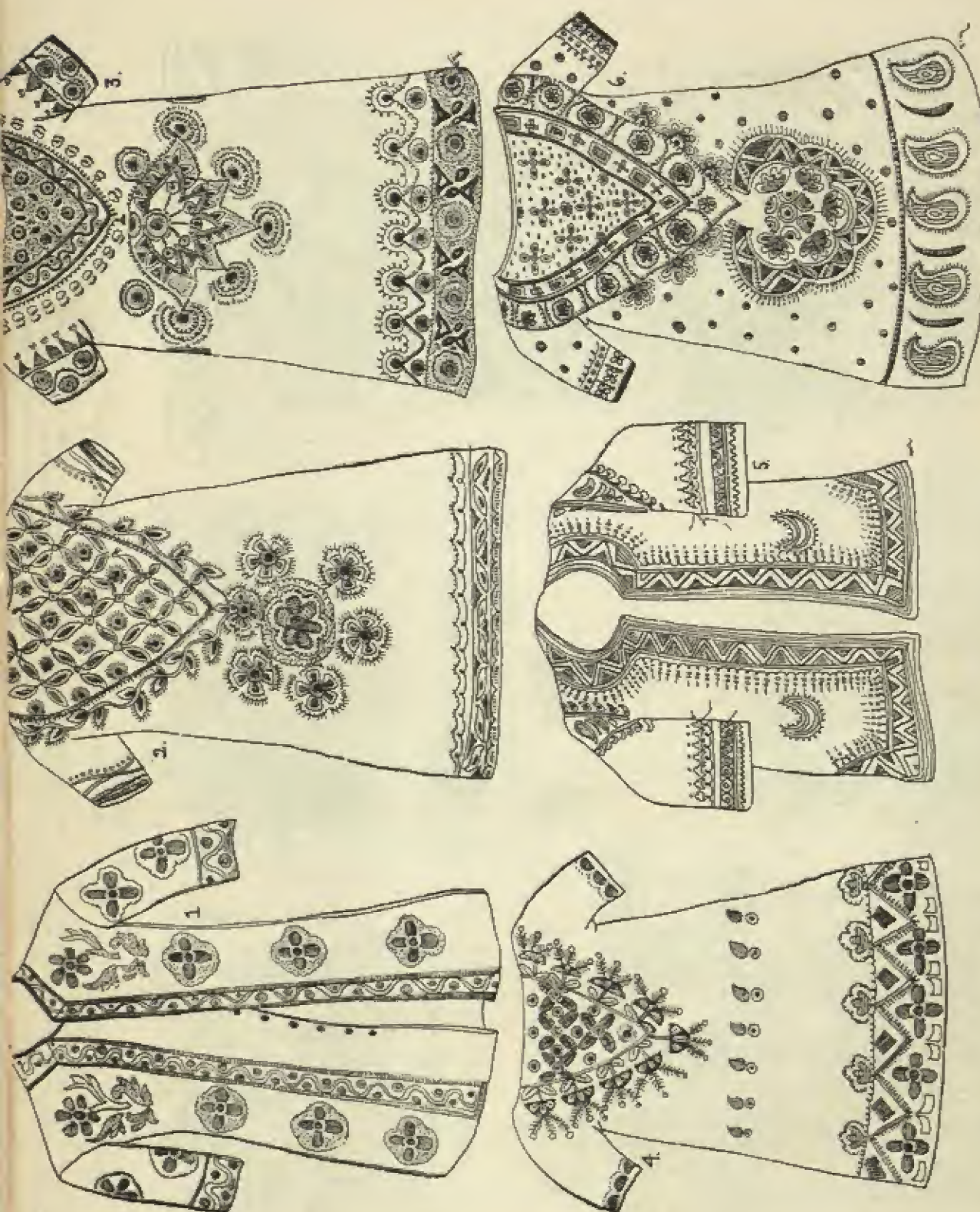
SKIRTS FROM VARIOUS PARTS OF INDIA

The patterns in a Karnatak skirt consists of simple rosettes, stylised birds, plants, circles and zigzags (Fig. 1). In a south Indian design rosettes, stylised leaves, and elephants are prominent (Fig. 2). Geometrical patterns used singly (Fig. 6) or in combination with flowers and rosettes (Fig. 3) characterise Baluchi decoration of skirt. Mark the pleasing poppy flower on the phulkari skirt of Punjab origin (Fig. 4). The Baluch design of Bengal is simple consisting of stylised birds and cones (Fig. 5).



SHAWLS MADE OF EMBROIDERED KASHMIR SHAWLS

Kashmir shawls are noted for their pleasing embroidery and though Kashmiri women do not use skirt as a common article of wear the women of Kangra and Jammu seemed to have preferred to make their skirts made of Kashmir material. A rather long skirt is decorated with rosettes, zigzags and hachured triangles (Fig. 1). Typical Kashmir pine cones and date palms decorate the second (Fig. 2). Pine cones and sprigs appear on the third (Fig. 3). Cypressess, stylized flowers and hachured triangles constitute the decoration of the fourth (Fig. 4). Stylised flowers and palmates appear on the fifth (Fig. 5). In the



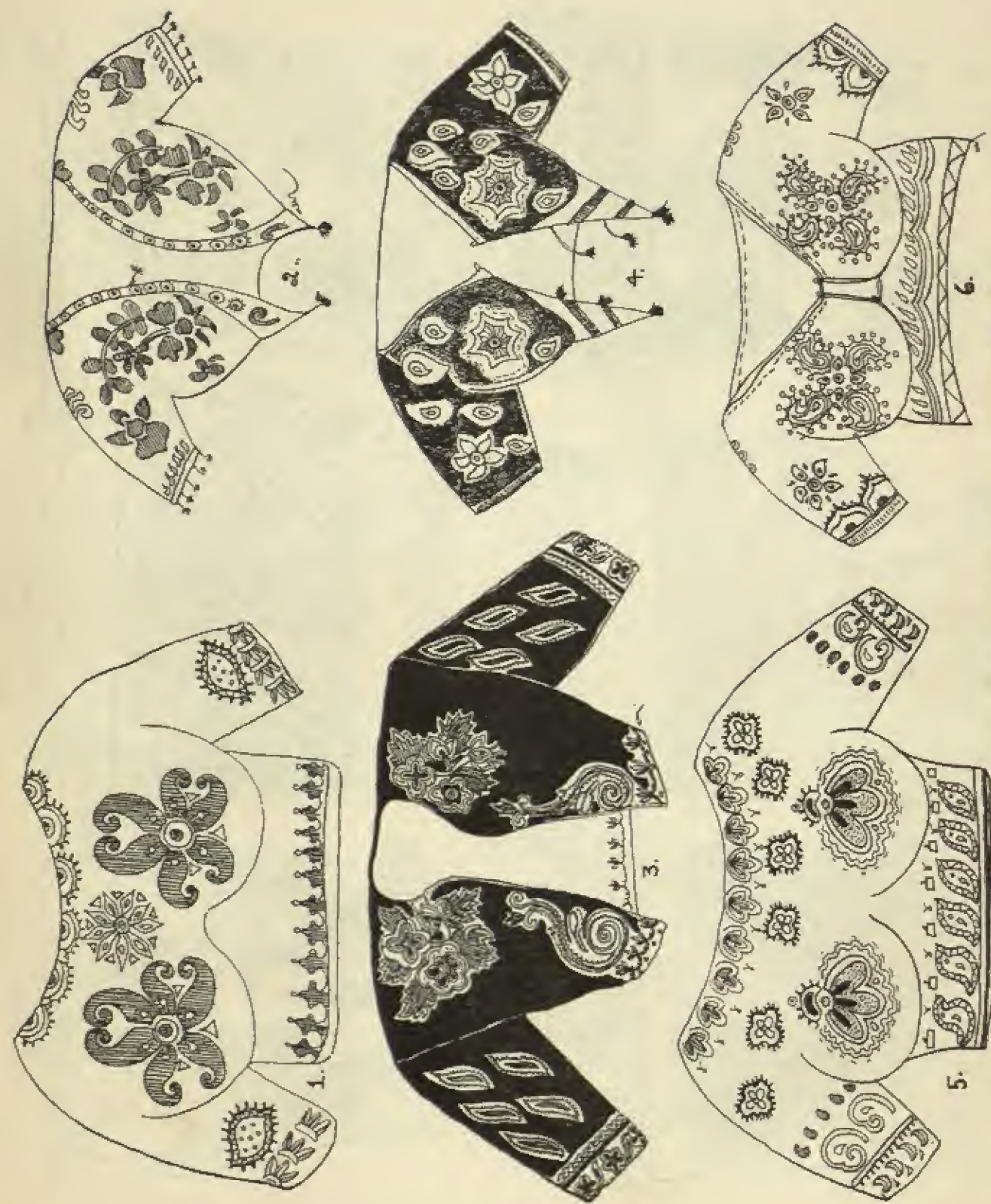
AN EMBROIDERED COAT FROM AURANGABAD, A JACKET FROM BARODA AND EMBROIDERED PETTICOATS FROM KUTCH

Stylised plants, flowers and meanders constitute the decoration of an old Aurangabad coat (Fig. 1). The Baroda gold embroidered jacket (Fig. 5) is decorated with crescents, chevrons, circles and cones. The following typical pattern on embroidered petticoats of Kutch origin are noticeable—a heart-shaped net of diaper and cluster of rosettes (Fig. 2), heart shaped embroidered neck with a star and poppy flower, rosettes and zigzag (Fig. 3), heart-shaped neck decorated with a floral diaper and stylised plants (Fig. 4), heart shaped neck decorated with stylised flowers and rosettes to which is attached an elaborate cartouche and pine cones (Fig. 6).



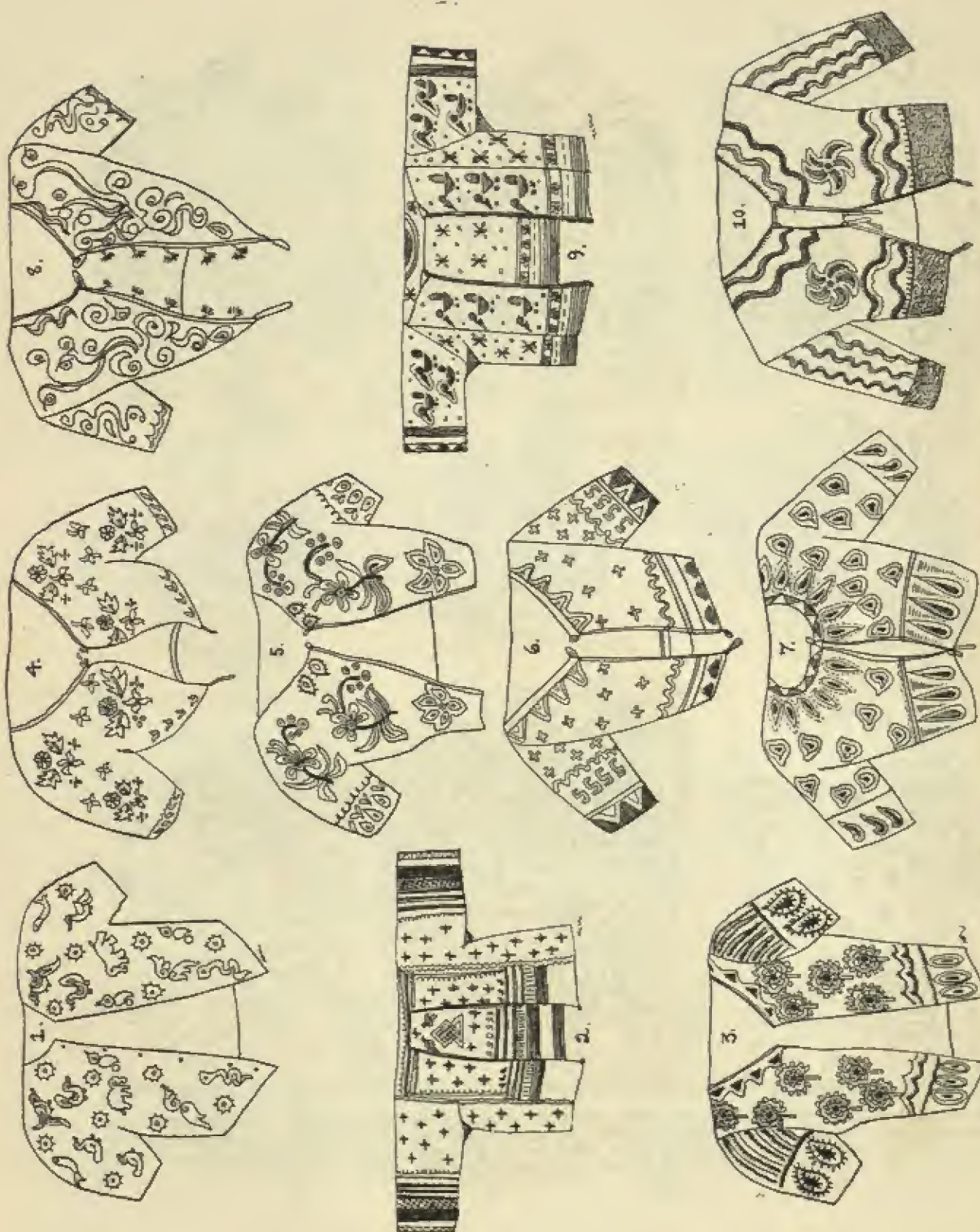
EMBROIDERED SKIRTS FROM THE DECCAN AND DACCA

In the Deccan, specially Karnatak the designs are simple consisting of the pine cone and floral meander (Fig. 1), stars and fish in a river (Fig. 2), bold flowers and stylised leaves (Fig. 3), stylised birds and flowers (Fig. 6). In the Dacca skirts, tall cones, stylised flowers and hachured lozenges (Fig. 4) and scale pattern filled with sprays (Fig. 5) are shown.



EMBROIDERED BODICES FROM LUCKNOW, THE PANJAB AND DELHI

The designs of the Lucknow bodices are simple—stylised flowers and cones (Fig. 1), stylised sprays and flowers (Fig. 2), bold flowers and leaves (Fig. 3) and stylised flowers, and leaves (Fig. 5). Mark the leaves, flowers and stars of the Delhi bodice (Fig. 4). Clusters of pine cones and leaves are the distinguishing features of the bodice of a dancing girl from Delhi (Fig. 6).



EMBROIDERED BODICES FROM MAHARASHTRA

The following pattern of the bodices from Maharashtra are noticeable:—Stylised birds, animals and stars (Fig. 1), stylised birds and geometrical ornaments (Fig. 2), flowers, pine cones, and zigzags (Fig. 3), leaves and stylised flowers (Fig. 4), sprays and rosettes (Fig. 5), crosses and meanders (Fig. 6), cones and stylised leaves (Fig. 7), arabesque (Fig. 8), stylised birds and flowers (Fig. 9), flowers and zigzag (Fig. 10).



TRADITIONAL ANIMAL MOTIFS FROM AURANGABAD SARIS AND BROCADES OF THE 18TH CENTURY

The hunting pattern was a favourite motif with the artists, weavers and other craftsmen. In the Aurangabad brocades of the 18th and 19th centuries, the figures of the camel, the elephant, the ram, the cow, the horse, and the stag, and the fish, in spite of stylisation retain, their natural pose and resemblances, while the figure of aquatic animals and the tiger are stylised.



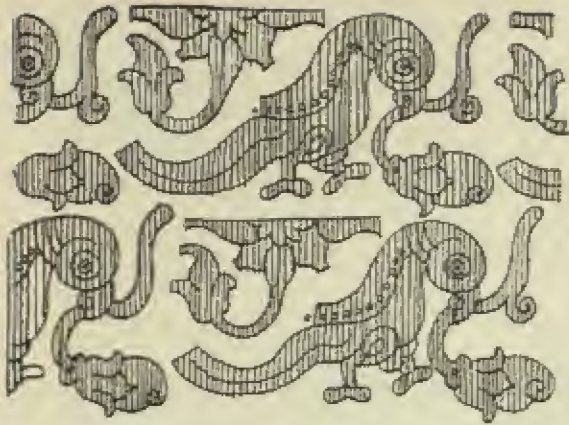
STYLISED AND NATURALISTIC MOTIFS ON POTTERY PROBABLY USED ALSO AS TEXTILE PATTERNS

The painted pottery of the protohistoric period (circa. 1500-1000 B.C.) and to a certain extent of the historical period give us a fund of stylised animal, bird, floral and geometrical motifs which were probably used by weavers and needle workers as well. The drawings on the left gives stylised representations of birds in which geese and peacocks are recognisable. Antelopes, wild goat, and the lion are stylised while the bull and the fish retain semblances of naturalist. In geometrical motifs hachured triangles, zigzags, chevron, solid triangles, steps, chequers, etc., appear.



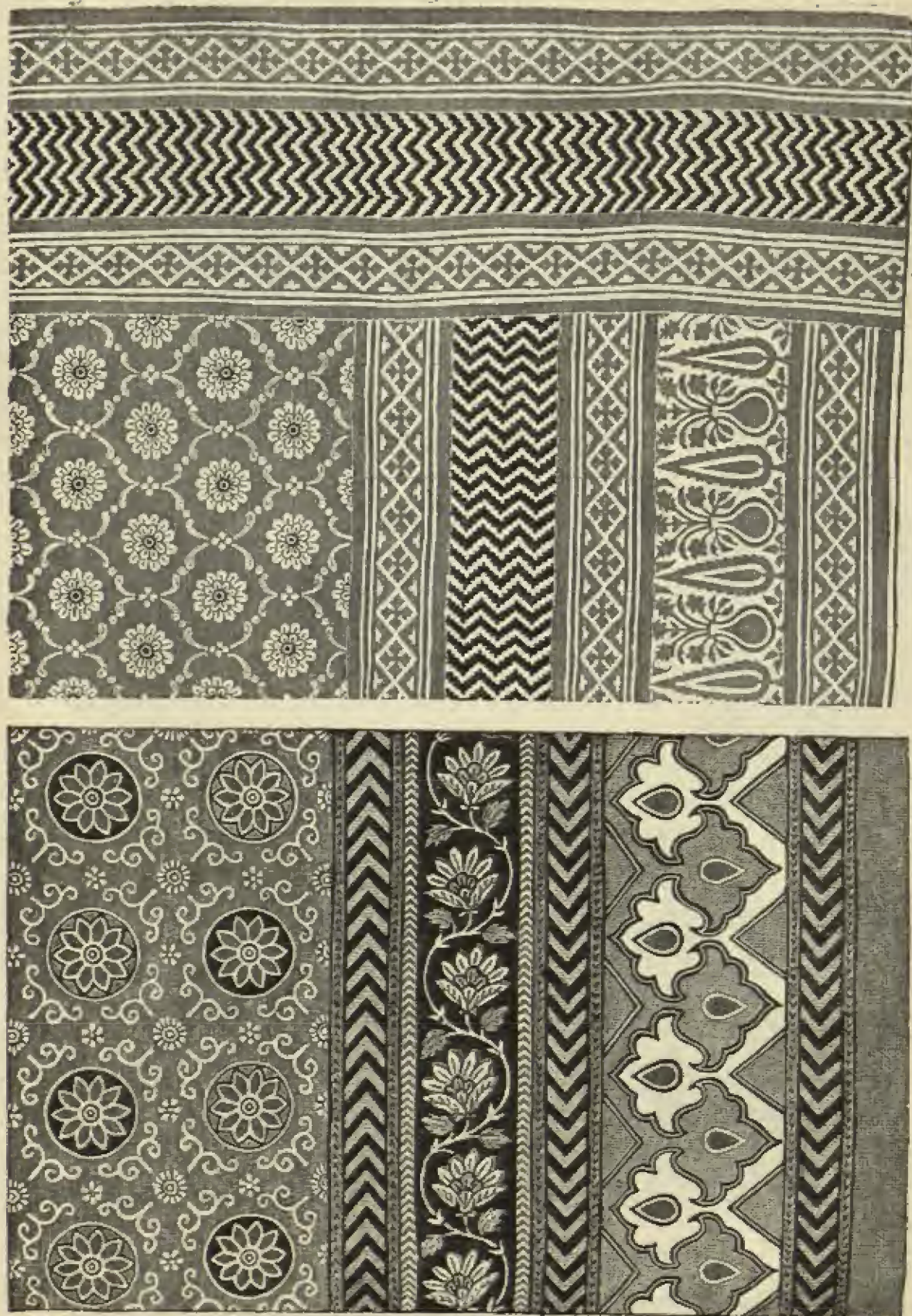
FLORAL MOTIFS FROM TRADITIONAL INDIAN TEXTILE DESIGNS

The textile patterns in the Moghal period and right up to the 19th were not exclusive property of a particular region, though there was a predilection for particular designs in different regions. Sprigs and sprays are common as textile designs in Gujarat, Rajasthan, Banaras, and the Deccan in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.



BIRD MOTIFS IN TRADITIONAL INDIAN EMBROIDERY

Parrots and peacocks usually represented in foliages are stylised but easily recognisable. In comparatively modern embroidery naturalistic representations of birds are aimed at.

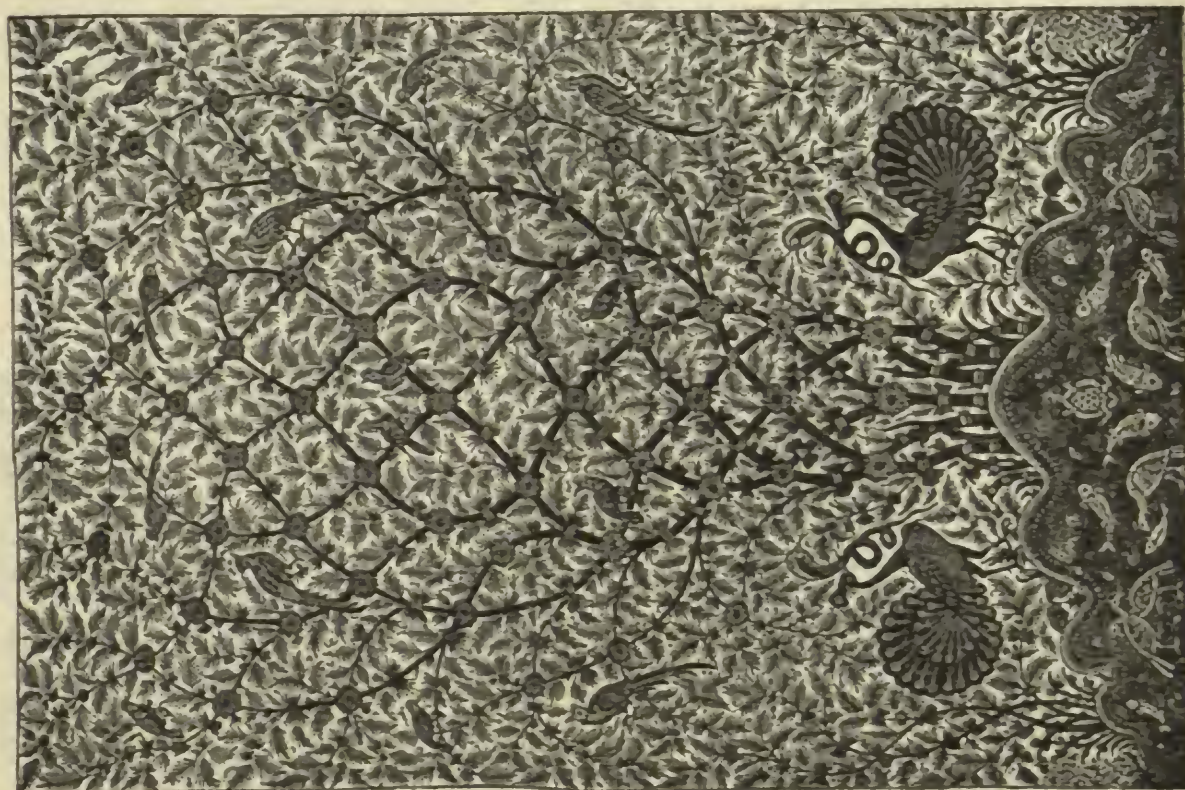


From Baroda

From Lahore

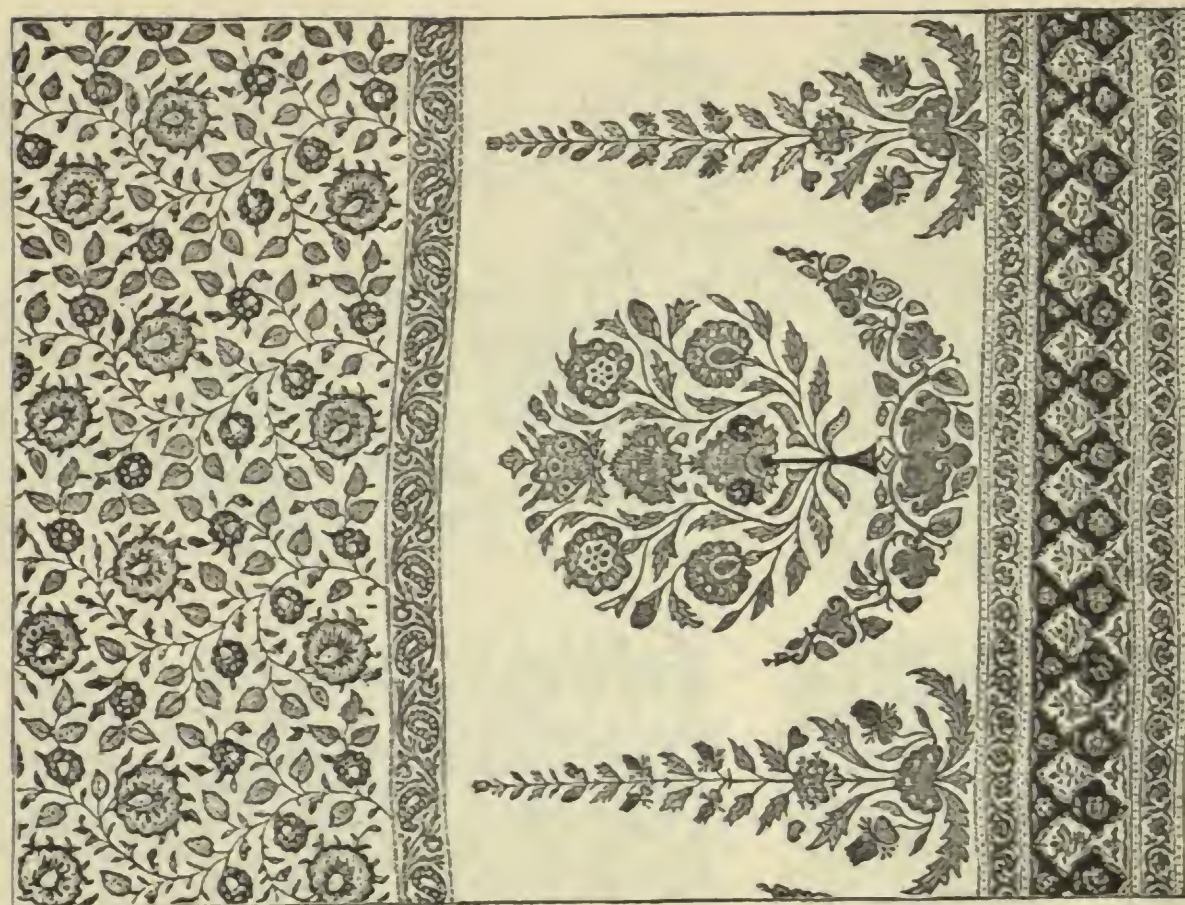
TWO FINE EXAMPLES OF HAND PRINTED COTTON BEDCOVERS

(From *Berlin Handbook of Indian Art*)



TREE OF LIFE DESIGN ON A MASULIPATAM CHINTZ

(From *Berlin Handbook of Indian Art*)

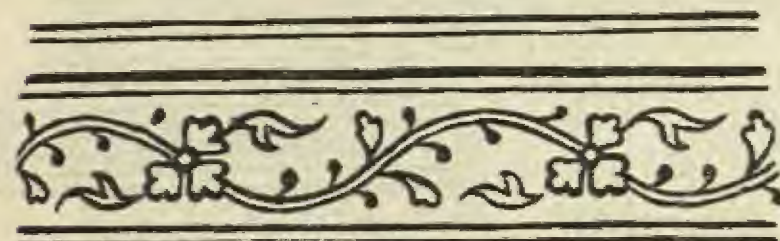
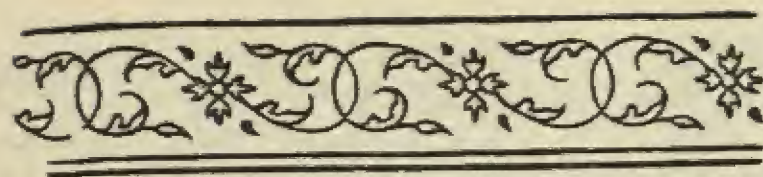


HAND-PRINTED COTTON BEDCOVER FROM LUCKNOW

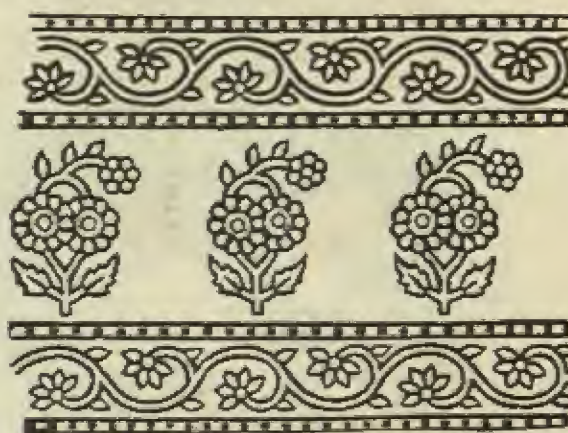


INDIAN DESIGNS FOR WOOD BLOCKS USED FOR HAND PRINTING OF CLOTH

(From *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry* Vol. VII)

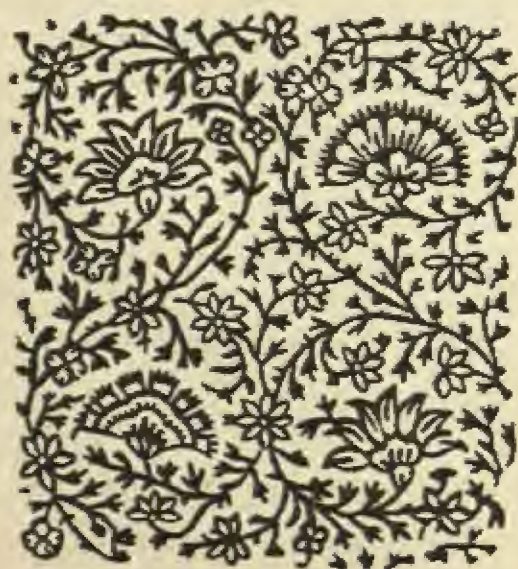
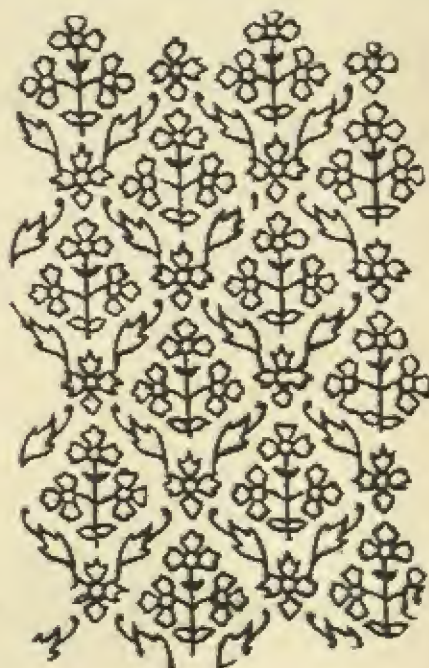


INDIAN DESIGNS FOR WOOD BLOCKS USED FOR HAND PRINTING OF CLOTH
(From *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Vol. VII)



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